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# East Europe Report

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ECONOMY

STATISTICAL OFFICE REPORTS ON FULFILLMENT OF 1986 STATE PLAN

AU290601 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Jan 87 pp 3, 4

["Report of the Federal Statistical Office on the Development of the National Economy and the Fulfillment of the CSSR State Plan in 1986"; capitalized passages published in boldface--"tons" refers to "metric tons" throughout]

[Text] The development of the national economy in the first year of the Eighth 5-Year Plan (Footnote) (The year 1986 had 1 workday fewer than the year 1985) was positively affected by the broad development of initiative and activity on the part of the working people; party, state, economic, and social agencies and organizations; and national committees in honor of the 17th CPCZ Congress. This, in its totality, found its reflection in the dynamism of the creation of material resources, which registered further improvement against the period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. In keeping with the strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development, further headway was made in raising the efficiency and intensification of the reproduction process, which contributed to an accelerated dynamism of the creation of national income when compared with the year 1985. Private consumption and real personal earnings increased and public consumption continued to grow at a faster rate.

Gross national income rose by 3.4 percent, which constitutes a certain acceleration compared with the year 1985 but falls short of the planned 3.5 percent increase. Gross industrial production rose by 3.1 percent, compared with the planned 2.6 percent increase. The volume of building work increased 2.4 percent while the plan provided for a 2 percent increase. The planned volume of agricultural production, which was up 0.5 percent, was fulfilled on the whole. While the crop production plan remained unfulfilled, the planned production of animal produce was overfulfilled. Social productivity of labor rose by 2.7 percent. However, the costs of production and output were not lowered as much as planned, which was the main reason for the failure to fulfill the planned increment in the national income.

Differences among individual enterprises in the fulfillment of the economic plan increased. This, along with inadequate interlinking within plans, was accountable for difficulties in supplier—user relations. Inventories increased at a faster rate than planned and there were some deviations from the plan in terms of the production structure.

Although production costs have decreased since 1985, the planned task was not achieved. As the development of the wage-intensiveness of production was better than planned, the failure to fulfill the task with regard to the cutting of costs was largely due to the failure to cut material costs.

The quality and technical-economic specifications of products and innovation were not raised to the desired extent. The results of scientific-technological progress were not used to the extent needed in order to intensify social production and raise its efficiency.

The volume of investment work and deliveries increased 2.8 percent compared with 1985. Although the planned investment volume was thus exceeded by 2.5 percent, neither the planned structure of investment work and deliveries, nor the planned composition in terms of branches were adhered to. Some crucial projects were not put into operation on schedule.

Foreign trade turnover with socialist countries increased 2.9 percent since 1985, and that with nonsocialist countries 3.9 percent. The planned volumes of exports and imports with regard to socialist states were exceeded and planned exports to nonsocialist states were also fulfilled on aggregate, despite a number of problems. There was no marked improvement in the effectiveness of exports.

The living standards of the population recorded further growth. Private consumption was 2.2 percent higher in 1986 than it was in 1985. Public consumption increased 3.4 percent, nominal personal earnings increased 3.3 percent, and their real value 2.9 percent. Retail trade turnover in terms of its physical volume increased 2.2 percent. Supplies of foodstuffs to the domestic market were generally free of disruption. Problems persisted with regard to the supply of some types of industrial merchandise to the market. A total of 78,200 apartments were completed, but the construction plan and the plan for the modernization of the housing stock both remained unfulfilled. Increased attention was paid to environmental protection.

# Scientific-Technical Development

Of the total number of 345 research and development tasks enshrined in the state plan of technical development for 1986, 328 tasks, that is, 95.1 percent, were resolved to the point and on schedule and the solution of 39 tasks was completed. Major concluded projects include, for example, the development of the SMEP III-1 small electronic computers by the Computer Technology Research Institute in Zilina; the development of computerized control and command systems for mill trains by the CKD enterprise in Prague; the development of equipment and assimilation of the technological process for the production of aluminum oxide by means of high-pressure decomposition of bauxite in the ZSNP plant in Ziar nad Hronom; the development of flexible manufacturing systems for linear and spatial molding [plosne a objemove tvareni] by the Research and Development Organization for Forming Technology in Brno; the development of computer-controlled automation systems for use in animal production by the Agricultural Machinery Research Institute in Prague; and the development of technological processes and equipment for recycling sewage water by the CKD Dukla plant.

A total of 17 research and development tasks of the state plan of technical development remained unfulfilled. This concerns, for example, the verification of the reliability and potentials of weaving machines of the KONTIS line by the Perla plant in Usti nad Orlici; a pilot plant for the production of an artificial sweetener in the Pharmacy and Biochemistry Research Institute in Prague; or the development of the production of citric acid by the submersion method in the Distilleries and Canning Research Institute in Bratislava.

As far as the applied research section of the state plan of technical development is concerned, 1,075 of the total number of 1,164 projects planned for application in 1986, that is, 92.4 percent, were actually introduced into production or use. The planned production volume of Kcs33.5 billion was fulfilled 114.7 percent.

The highest fulfillment of the production volume was in the sectors administered by the Federal Ministry of General Engineering, the Ministry of Industry of the Czech SR, the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering, and the Ministry of Agriculture and Food of the Slovak SR, and the lowest in the sectors administered by the Ministry of Forestry and Water Management of the Slovak SR, the Federal Ministry of Transportation, and the Slovak Association of Production Cooperatives. A total of 169 resolved projects reached the production stage. The volume of this production totaled Kcs18.9 billion, which is an increase of 1.2 percent compared with the preceding year. Successful start-ups in 1986 include, for example, the production of extra-strength corrosion-resistant steel cables for increased safety in deep mining by the Bohumin Iron Works, the production of innovative cables with reduced metal input allowing cable core temperatures of up to 70°C by the Kablo plants in Kladno and Bratislava, the production of special types of high-purity gas for the production of semiconductors by the Lachema plant in Brno, the production of polyvinylchloride-based insulation sheets for dams with enhanced insulation properties and extended service life by the Fatra plant in Napajedla, the production of dispersions based on acrylic copolymers for base, glossy, and corrosion-resistant coating substances by the Sokolov Chemical Works, the production of basic laminates for new types of printed circuits by the Kablo plant in Bratislava, and the production of handling devices for the automated deposition of materials by spraying by the Kovofinis plant in Ledec nad Sazavou.

On the other hand, of the resolved tasks of the state plan of technical development we failed to apply in production 40 projects with a planned production volume of Kcs462 million. This concerns, for example, the production of computerized numerical control and command systems for machine tools by the ZPA plant in Kosire, the production of an anti-inflammation agent by the Spofa plant in Prague, the production of a flexible assembly system for nest assembly [hnizdova montaz] by the Research Institute of Mechanization and Automation in Nove Mesto nad Vahom, or the production of a portable six-channel cardiograph by the Chirana plant in Stara Tura. Furthermore, the Tatra plant in Koprivnice failed to put into operation a set of robot-fitted workplaces for the resistance welding of drivers' cabins for trucks and the Chirana plant in Stara Tura a model automated assembly unit for one-way injection needles.

The practical application of scientific-technical progress helped to increase the share of advanced technologies. The proportion of steel cast by the continuous casting method rose by 12.5 percent and the production of steel in oxygen converters by 3 percent. Successful introductions into operation are: a tin stripping line in the Kovosrot Brno national enterprise; a semilight-section mill in the Poldi Kladno national enterprise; the production of 25 megawatt units for the compressors of transit gas pipelines; the production of a number of new types of integrated circuits; the production of a new model of a stepping camera [krokovaci kamera] for the needs of the electronics industry, and so forth.

The production volume of new products decreased by 1.4 percent compared with the preceding year and totaled Kcs124 billion. The proportion of new products in the total production volume was also lower than in 1985. On the other hand, the value of new products of high technical-economic standards accounted for 33.7 percent of the total value of new products, which is an increase of 2.8 percent over the preceding year. Products of high technical-economic standards accounted for 15.4 percent of the total production of industrial merchandise in 1986, compared with 15.0 percent in 1985. Despite some improvements, the proper attention was not devoted to the innovation issue and to raising the technical-economic standards of products, which negatively affects the meeting of needs on the domestic market and the creation of conditions for successful operations in foreign trade.

Owing to measures implemented within the framework of the state target program concerning the conservation and use of fuels and power, relative savings were achieved of 3.1 billion tons of specific fuel and the planned task was fulfilled. Within the framework of the state target program of rationalizing the consumption of metals, savings of 476,000 tons of ferrous and 13,500 tons of nonferrous metals were effected, which tallies with the planned targets. The implementation of the aforementioned state target programs helped to reduce the energy-intensiveness and material-intensiveness of production. However, the Czechoslovak economy continues to have considerable untapped potentials in this sphere when compared with the most advanced industrial countries.

The production and deployment of industrial robots and robot-fitted work-places continued within the framework of the "Robotization of Technological Processes" state target program. A total of 961 industrial robots were produced in 1986, the deployment of which will increase the productivity and quality of labor and remove physically laborious operations, especially those carried out in environments that are hazardous to health.

A total of 189,600 people were employed in the research and development base in 1986, an increase by 3,000 against the preceding year. Total expenditures on the research and development base were 5.5 percent higher than in 1985 and amounted to Kcs22.5 billion.

The initiative of the working people found its positive reflection in the growing number of submitted inventions and improvement proposals. The number of submitted inventions was 1.9 percent higher than the year before and the number of improvement proposals was 1 percent higher.

International exchange of scientific knowledge and advanced technologies continued in 1986 with the purchase of 69 licenses and the sale of 49 licenses.

The year 1986 also saw the start of the implementation of the tasks that arise from the Comprehensive Program of Scientific-Technical Progress of CEMA Member-Countries Through the Year 2000. Scientific-technical cooperation with CEMA member-countries, and with the USSR in particular, became more intensive. It was aimed mainly at the development of automation and computerization and at the development of the nuclear power industry.

#### Industry

Industrial production in the centrally administered industry rose by 3.1 percent compared with 1985 and average daily production by as much as 3.4 percent. The attained increment in gross production and in the production of goods was 0.5 percent higher than provided for by the state plan. The planned gross production volume was exceeded by Kcs4.2 billion, which is equivalent to the production volume of 1.3 days. At the same time, one-quarter of all enterprises failed to fulfill the planned tasks.

The volume of adjusted net output increased 5.2 percent compared with the preceding year but the planned increase was not achieved. A total of 27 percent of enterprises did not come to terms with the plan of adjusted net output.

Labor productivity calculated on the basis of the volume of adjusted net output increased 4.8 percent and labor productivity calculated on the basis of gross production increased 2.6 percent. The planned labor productivity growth was exceeded.

Compared with 1985, there was also an increase in some qualitative indicators characterizing the development of intensification and of the efficiency of industrial production. However, planned targets with respect to efficiency growth were not achieved to the full extent. Their fulfillment was marked by great differences and irregularity.

The development of costs in the centrally administered industry improved when compared with the situation the year before but the rate of reduction foreseen by the annual plan was not attained. There were considerable differences among industrial enterprises with respect to the plan fulfillment. There was a relative cut of 0.5 percent in the proportion of total costs in the volume of output, compared with the 1.1 percent target foreseen in the annual plan. The proportion of material costs alone decreased by 0.6 percent, but the annual plan set a 1.3 percent reduction target.

The proportion of wage costs in adjusted net output decreased by 0.73 percent, which was in harmony with the plan. Profits increased 6.9 percent and the plan was fulfilled 100.2 percent. The rate of profitability of costs, capital assets, and adjusted net output increased compared with 1985 but the planned targets were not quite achieved.

There was a further decline in the utilization of capital assets and inventories increased Kcs10.7 billion more than planned. The rate of the turn-over of inventories in the centrally administered industry lengthened by 1.4 days although the plan provided for a cut of 0.25 days.

Employment in the centrally administered industry increased by 13,500 compared with 1985, that is, 0.5 percent, and reached 2,709,000. Average monthly wages in the centrally administered industry amounted to Kcs3,158, which is Kcs51 or 1.6 percent more than the year before. The ratio between the development of labor productivity and the development of average wages was in harmony with the plan. A number of enterprises failed to abide by the planned ratio between wage costs and adjusted net output.

At 90.7 percent, the rate of utilizing disposable working hours by industrial workers was slightly below the rate for 1985, mainly due to a higher sick rate. The shift rate for industrial workers (at 1.327) and the shift rate for workers manning machine-equipped workplaces (at 1.514) remained roughly at the level of the preceding year.

Total sales by centrally administered industry in wholesale prices rose by 2.1 percent compared with 1985. The volume of deliveries of machinery and equipment for investment projects increased 1.5 percent, although the plan foresaw a 7-percent cut in these deliveries. The total volume of deliveries for export increased 4.0 percent, of which exports to socialist countries increased 4.7 percent and exports to nonsocialist countries 2.9 percent. Deliveries for domestic trade increased 2.3 percent. Other sales increased 1.7 percent.

While the plan was fulfilled on aggregate with regard to the main directions of sales, the customers' requirements were not always ensured satisfactorily. Shortcomings became apparent, in particular, in the structure and quality of some products, as well as in the regularity of deliveries. This upset supplier-customer relations and accounted for uneven fulfillment of production tasks. The adaptability of production to the needs of domestic and foreign trade continued to be slow.

In keeping with planned structural changes, production in individual industrial branches developed in a differentiated fashion. There was an above-average growth rate in branches and sectors focusing on the application of scientific-technical progress, and in some sectors based on the use of domestic raw materials. The output of electrical engineering increased distinctly, although the planned growth was not achieved to the full extent. Above-average production growth was also achieved in general engineering and in the chemical industry, especially in the rubber, plastics, and pharmaceutical industries.

Planned tasks in branches that are demanding in terms of consumption of fuel and power resources were exceeded.

The following production results were achieved in individual industrial branches in 1986:

ENGINEERING AND ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING recorded a total production growth of 4.8 percent, which is in accordance with the expectations of the state plan.

HEAVY ENGINEERING increased its output 3 percent, while the plan foresaw a 2.9 percent growth. Tasks with regard to the delivery and assembly of installations for nuclear power stations were fulfilled. Shutdown periods in the power-generating units of thermal power stations due to general overhauls were cut short. A total of 19 irrigation pumping stations were put into operation, permitting the irrigation of 12,000 hectares of agricultural land. Above-average growth rates were achieved in the production of cranes, 14.6 percent; in the production of rail freight vehicles, 3.1 percent; and in the production of pneumatic equipment, 3.4 percent.

Production in GENERAL ENGINEERING increased 4.5 percent—0.3 percent more than provided for by the state plan. Production increased, in particular, with respect to trucks with a loading capacity of 1.5 to 3 tons (8.1 percent), earth—moving, construction, and road—building machinery (8.9 percent), forming machines (4.7 percent), numerically controlled machine tools (16.4 percent), knitting machines (5.4 percent), and agricultural machinery and equipment (3.7 percent). As far as consumer durables are concerned, there was an increase in the production of freezers (9.8 percent), electric stoves (2.2 percent), automatic washing machines (4.7 percent), and enamelled bath tubs (2 percent).

The output of ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING increased 8.5 percent, as compared with 8.9 percent laid down in the state plan. The production of monolithic integrated circuits increased 37.8 percent, production of digital computers 82.6 percent, production of electrical engineering components 20.6 percent, production of regulation and control technology 13.1 percent, production of laboratory equipment 8.7 percent, and production of medical care technology 4.3 percent. Relatively rapid growth was also recorded in the production of some electrical engineering consumer durables, especially in the production of color television sets, which increased 8.2 percent.

The value of the gross output in the METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY, including ore mining, increased 1.6 percent, 1.5 percent more than laid down in the state plan. Production in ore mining and ore treatment increased 2.2 percent, in ferrous metallurgy 1.4 percent, and in nonferrous metallurgy 2.3 percent. While the production of iron stagnated, steel production increased 0.5 percent, and the production of rolled material stock increased 1.3 percent (an above-average growth was recorded in the production of rolled material stock out of high-quality steel, which increased 3 percent). An even higher growth was achieved in the production of fine reinforcement plates (9.8 percent), in hot-rolled steel strips (4.4 percent), and aluminum (4.3 percent).

In the FUEL INDUSTRY, coal and lignite production totaled 126.4 million tons and the extraction plan was exceeded by 3.8 million tons, that is, 3.1 percent. Compared with 1985, coal and lignite production declined 0.1 percent, although the state plan provided for a 3.1 percent decline. The planned reduction became manifest only in bituminous coal. All coal basins exceeded the planned mining tasks. The overfulfillment of the planned production

of brown coal safeguarded the needs of steam power stations, brought about by their higher-than-planned generation of electricity.

The planned volume of removed overburden in brown coal mining was exceeded by 11.8 million cubic meters, that is, 4.9 percent.

Supplies of solid fuels to the population and the national economy were essentially free of disruption. Although planned deliveries to outlets of the Coal Depot enterprise were exceeded by 1.873 million tons, there were local shortages of graded coal and briquettes and sales of solid fuels to the population had to be regulated.

ELECTRICITY GENERATION totaled 84.8 billion kWh and was 5.1 percent higher than in 1985. The electricity generation plan was fulfilled 101 percent, of which the thermal power stations' plan was fulfilled 101.4 percent; the plan of nuclear power stations 105.4 percent; and the plan of hydroelectric power stations 83.0 percent. Nuclear power stations increased their electricity generation 51.7 percent compared with 1985 which, inter alia, made it possible to reduce electricity generation in thermal power stations by 2.6 percent. Owing to low water levels, electricity generation in hydroelectric power stations declined 8.3 percent. Electricity generated in nuclear power stations as a proportion of total electricity production reached 21.1 percent in 1986.

Electricity consumption increased by 2.049 billion kWh compared with the preceding year, that is, 2.4 percent. The state plan provided for a 2.2 percent growth in consumption. In connection with the changing structure of fuels, consumption by large consumers was 3.4 percent higher and consumption by socialist small-scale consumers and by the population was 3.2 percent higher. Consumption in the other areas of electricity consumption declined.

Total consumption of natural gas increased 5.1 percent compared with the preceding year, of which consumption by the production sphere increased 5.7 percent and consumption by the nonproduction sphere and by the public 4.1 percent. Consumption of town gas decreased 6.5 percent. Planned consumption of natural gas was fulfilled 103.9 percent, and that of town gas 105.7 percent.

Total output of the CHEMICAL INDUSTRY increased 4.3 percent, compared with the 3.0 percent growth laid down in the state plan. Production in the petrochemical industry and in crude oil refining increased 3.8 percent, and production in the rubber and plastic materials industry 4.3 percent. Above-average growth rates were recorded, above all, in the branches of sophisticated chemistry. Compared with the preceding year, production of acrylic acid esters increased 9.3 percent, and the production of benzenes 3.7 percent. The production of aniline underwent a substantial expansion. The volume of pharmaceutical production increased 7.1 percent. Total fertilizer output increased 8.2 percent; plastic materials output, 3.4 percent; synthetic rubber output, 9.3 percent; auxiliary rubber additives output, 36.9 percent; carbon black output, 3.4 percent; output of tires for passenger cars, 5.9 percent; and the output of floor coverings made of polyvinylchloride, 2.2 percent.

Total output of the TIMBER-PROCESSING INDUSTRY increased 3.2 percent, 0.6 percent more than laid down in the state plan. Production in the woodworking industry increased 2.8 percent, and in the paper and pulp industry 3.8 percent. There was an above-average increase in the production of bleached chemical pulp (9.3 percent), pressed fiberboard (5.3 percent), and doors (6.6 percent). Furniture production increased 3.4 percent.

The LIGHT INDUSTRY registered a total production growth of 2.1 percent, 1.4 percent below the target set down in the annual state plan. In the course of the year, difficulties with ensuring the planned development of production became manifest, in particular, in the glass, textile, and leatherworking industries. Output of the glass, china, and ceramics industry increased 1.7 percent; the output of the textile industry, 2.3 percent; the output of the garment industry, 2.6 percent; the output of the leatherworking and footwear industry, 1.2 percent; and the output of the printing industry, 3.3 percent.

The output of the CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS INDUSTRY increased 2.2 percent compared with 1985. Cement production remained at the level of the preceding year. Production of lime increased 3.2 percent, that of heat-hardened masonry materials 4.2 percent, and that of ceramic tiles 3.4 percent.

Production of Major Industrial Products in the Centrally Administered Industry

Product	Unit of measurement	Actual in 1986	Plan ful- fillment in percent	1986 as a percentage of 1985
	m1			
Bituminous coal	Thousands of tons	25,658	101.4	97.8
Brown coal, including	Thousands of	100 771	103.5	100.4
lignite	tons	100,771	101.0	105.1
Electricity	Million kWh	84,753	101.0	103.1
Pig iron	Thousands of tons	9,573.0	100.0	100.1
Crude steel	Thousands of tons	15,111.7	100.6	100.5
Rolled material stock	Thousands of tons	11,179.5	101.0	101.3
Cement	Thousands of tons	10,298.3	101.6	100.3
Lime	Thousands of			
Line	tons	3,329.3	102.8	103.2
Nitrogenous fertilizers	Thousands of tons/nitroge	n 614.3	117.1	116.8
Phosphoric fertilizers	Thousands of tons/P205	307.0	101.0	98.9
Plastic materials	Thousands of tons	1,140.3	102.7	103.4
Chemical fibers	Thousands of tons	192.7	100.4	99.7

Product	Unit of measurement	Actual in 1986	Plan ful- fillment in percent	1986 as a percentage of 1985
Detergents	Тот с	00.060		
Passenger cars/delivery	Tons	83,360	103.7	103.9
vans	Units	105 020	00.0	
Of this, passenger cars	Units	185,030 178,977	99.0	100.7
Two-wheel motor vehicles	Units	205,727	99.5 88.2	100.9
Bicycles	Units	726,294		94.0
Trucks	Units	50,199	93.5 98.2	99.4
Integrated circuits	Kcs million	1,662.6		104.7
Digital computers	Units	2,666	97.4	137.8
Metal-working machine	OHILLS	2,000	62.3	182.6
tools	Kcs million	4,892.8	07.0	100 (
Forming machinery, total	Kcs million		97.8	103.6
Agricultural machinery and equipment, including	: :	1,793.4	97.3	104.7
spare parts Tractors, wheeled and	Kcs million	3,563.6	99.7	103.7
tracked	** *			
Household washing	Units	36,960	99.3	105.0
machines	Thousands of			
Of this:	units	452	100.3	101.6
Automatic	Thousands of			
21GCOMGCIC	units	000		
Household refrigerators	Thousands of	209	100.8	104.7
and freezers	units	<b>""</b>	100 (	
Of this:	units	524	100.6	109.2
Freezers	Thousands of		•	
TECACIO	units	176		
Television sets, total	Thousands of	176	92.9	109.8
Total octa, total	units	434	06.0	100 5
Of this:	units	434	96.8	100.5
Color sets	Thousands of			
	units	209	93.2	100 0
Furniture	Kcs million	8,163.2	98.6	108.2
Utility and decorative	ACO MITTION	0,103.2	90.0	103.4
china	Kcs million	695.7	96.9	99.7
Paper and cardboard	Thousands of	093.7	30.3	99.7
•	tons	960.2	99.3	99.7
Cotton fabrics	Millions of	500.2	77.3	77.1
	meters	606.5	100.0	100.0
Underwear made of fabric	Thousands of	00013	200+0	TOO * O
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	pieces	53,959	96.1	95.2
Garments made of fabric	Thousands of		A. ROPE	73.6
and nonwoven textiles	pieces	34,163	98.2	101.0
Hosiery	Thousands of			TOT • 0
	pairs	190,007	100.8	102.1

П

Product	Unit of measurement	Actual in 1986	Plan ful- fillment in percent	1986 as a percentage of 1985
Footwear, total	Thousands of pairs	110,084	94.3	94.3
Of this:	1 6			
Leather footwear	Thousands of pairs	50,755	95.2	96.4
Footwear made of textiles and other materials	Thousands of pairs	30,855	93.7	95.4

Agricultural-Food Industry Complex

The total volume of gross agricultural production increased further. Compared with 1985, it increased 0.5 percent, which tallies with the level laid down by the state plan. Compared with the average gross agricultural output for the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, it increased 4.3 percent. The growth of gross agricultural output was influenced by the growth in animal production, which was 2 percent higher than in 1985 and 6 percent above the annual average for the years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. There was a further increase in livestock yields.

As far as crop farming is concerned, the yields of most crops were below the results of 1985 and the planned targets.

Per-Hectare Yields and Harvests of Selected Crops

	Per-hectare yield in tons			Harvest in thousands in tons			Percentage of plan
Crop	Average 1981-85	1985	1986	Average 1981-85	1985	1986	fulfillment in 1986
Grain crops, total	4.31	4.70	4.28	10,893	11,769	10,781	94.6
Of this, Grain corn Pulses Sugar beets Potatoes Vegetables	4.87 2.13 34.79 18.57	5.44 2.18 37.70 18.55	4.62 2.13 36.41 19.03	884 186 7,296 3,591 1,117	1,114 214 7,746 3,450 1,092	987 216 7,138 3,455 1,137	92.1 87.6 89.2 92.1 91.0
Perennial feed crops	8.67	9.49	7.84	5,896	6,926	5,903	83.1

The harvest of silage corn was significantly in excess of the plan (by 13 percent), which was projected into an improved balance of feed crops.

By 31 December of the year, the planned procurement of grain crops for the federal reserve funds was fulfilled 100.2 percent; the procurement plan of rape, 93.1 percent; the procurement plan of sugar beets, 94 percent; and the procurement of potatoes for human consumption [trzni brambory] 100.8 percent.

In animal production, the stocks of beef cattle and pigs both increased compared with 1985, in accordance with the 1986 plan. The stocks of poultry and hens remained above the planned target, whereas the stocks of cows remained below the planned target. At the end of 1986, beef cattle stocks totaled 5,073,000 head (8,000 more than in 1985); stocks of pigs 6,829,000 head (an increase of 178,000); and the stocks of poultry 48,717,000 head (an increase of 1,439,000). Cow stocks decreased by 18,000 head since the end of 1985, to 1,842,000 head.

Milk yields, in particular, maintained their continuously rising trend. Annual milk yields per dairy cow averaged 3,749 liters, 106 liters more than in 1985. At the same time there was an increase in the intensity of rearing calves and piglets. The average annual number of eggs laid per hen remained at the level of the preceding year (247.2 units). There was a rise in the intensity of fattening beef cattle and pigs. Alongside the positive results achieved in the growth of yields, there was also a reduction in the consumption of concentrated feed per production unit.

#### Procurement of Animal Products

Product	Unit of measurement	1986	Increase over 1985	Increase over the plan
Animals for slaughter, total (excluding poultry)	Thousands of tons of weight on			•
Poultry for slaughter	hoof Thousands of tons of	1,599	7	16
Milk	body weight Million	248	5	6
Eggs	liters Million	6,126	105	226
	units	3,013	36	. 33

Small-scale growers and breeders increased their share in the gross agricultural output of animals for slaughter, including poultry, from 11.2 percent in 1985 to 11.6 percent, of vegetables from 39.1 percent to 44.8 percent, and of fruit from 64.2 percent to 67.3 percent.

In the course of 1986, agriculture was supplied with 9,338 tractors, 1,963 grain combine harvesters, 2,298 sowing machines, 375 potato harvesters, and 229 sugar beet harvesters. However, shortages of spare parts for agricultural machinery were not eliminated. Agriculture was supplied with 1,689,000 tons of industrial fertilizers in net nutrient value, which was 251.5 kg for each hectare of agricultural land (compared with 257.8 kg in 1985). Irrigation facilities were built on 17,200 hectares and drainage was carried out on 35,900 hectares.

Average comparable monthly earnings in united agricultural cooperatives increased 2.2 percent, to Kcs3,170, and average monthly wages in state farms amounted to Kcs3,033, which was also a 2.2 percent increase over 1985. This increase was in harmony with the increased rate of labor productivity growth (calculated on the basis of net adjusted output per agricultural employee). The economic results of united agricultural cooperatives were significantly affected by their sideline activities, whose share in profits further increased.

The volume of gross output in the FOOD INDUSTRY increased 1.7 percent compared with 1985, which is 0.1 percent above the target of the state plan. Increases were achieved notably in the production of refined sugar (1.6 percent), poultry (5 percent), melted lard (4.2 percent), cheese (4.2 percent), edible vegetable fat and oil (2.6 percent), dairy butter (2.7 percent), and beer (1.9 percent). Production of nonalcoholic beverages increased 7.8 percent.

Production of meat increased 1.8 percent. There was a slight reduction in the volume of bread and pasteurized milk production, but consumer demand for them was being met without disruption. The milk surplus was not utilized sufficiently to expand the variety of dairy products, notably cheese. The volume of deliveries by the food industry to the domestic trade network increased 2.3 percent in retail prices. The development of costs in the food industry was not in keeping with the plan, owing to a higher-than-planned share of material costs in output (0.04 percent). The plan of adjusted net output was therefore fulfilled 98.4 percent. The planned creation of profit was fulfilled 95.9 percent. Labor productivity calculated on the basis of adjusted net output increased 6.5 percent, and labor productivity calculated on the basis of gross production 1.5 percent.

#### Forestry

Timber extraction totaled 18.8 million cubic meters (4.3 percent less than in 1985) and the planned extraction was fulfilled 100.1 percent. Salvage cutting accounted for 49.3 percent of all timber extraction. Deliveries of timber amounted to 18.7 million cubic meters, 4.0 percent less than in 1985, and the delivery plan was fulfilled 100.7 percent. Afforestation was carried out on 52,300 hectares and the afforestation plan was fulfilled 103.2 percent.

#### Water Conservancy

Compared with 1985, production of drinking water increased 1.6 percent to 1.711 billion cubic meters. Of this, deliveries of drinking water to direct consumers via public water mains increased to 1.299 billion cubic meters (an increase of 2.4 percent). A total of 1.284 billion cubic meters of effluent were drained away by public sewers—a 1.3 percent increase over 1985. The targets laid down by the plan were met.

The proportion of the population supplied with water from public water mains increased from 76.2 percent in 1985 to 77 percent and the proportion of the population living in homes connected to the public sewage grid increased from 62.4 to 63.2 percent.

#### Building Industry

Construction enterprises carried out building work valued at Kcs97.9 billion with their own employees, and fulfilled the state plan 100.7 percent. The volume of building work was 2.4 percent higher than the year before. The volume of building work carried out on the basis of supply contracts was fulfilled on aggregate. There was an increase in repair jobs. Work started on integration projects on the USSR's territory.

The fulfillment of the capital construction plan in areas of concentrated investment activity (Prague and North Bohemia) was better than in the other parts of the CSSR.

There was considerable unevenness with regard to plan fulfillment by individual enterprises, with 19.0 percent of all building companies falling short of the planned volume of building work that was to have been carried out by their own employees.

The volume of adjusted net output was 0.5 percent higher than planned and 4.3 percent higher than the year before. Profits increased 15.0 percent compared with 1985. The development of the share of overall costs in output was also favorable when compared with the plan. The share of material costs in output (62.5 percent) was lower than planned. Wage-intensiveness was in line with the targets of the plan.

The progress of building work at a number of sites was trailing behind the set timetable and poor quality was manifest at some projects, especially in the finishing process. Some projects were not put on a trial run on schedule. This applied, for instance, to the reconstruction of the Trebisov sugar refinery or to the installation of water piping in Ceska Lipa. The continuity of building work was also disrupted by shortcomings in supplies of materials and equipment.

Labor productivity of employees in the building trade calculated on the basis of basic building output increased 1.7 percent and exceeded the set target. Labor productivity gauged on the basis of adjusted net output was 3.5 percent higher than the preceding year, and its level was higher than planned.

The average number of employees registered in building enterprises was 565,900, which was an increase of 4,300, or 0.8 percent, over 1985. However, the number of employees was lower than planned. Average monthly wages of employees in building enterprises rose by Kcs62, that is, 1.9 percent, and reached Kcs3,258. The planned ratio between the development of labor productivity and the development of average wages was maintained.

Transportation and Communications

Freight transportation ensured the transportation requirements of the national economy but transportation-intensiveness declined only 0.8 percent compared with 1985, instead of the planned 3.0 percent decline. Public road transport

developed faster than road transport by the enterprises' own means of transportation, which was in keeping with the state plan. The fastest growth rate was recorded by river transportation.

Public freight transportation conveyed 656.0 million tons of goods, which was a 1.5 percent increase over 1985. The state plan was fulfilled 101.4 percent. Of the cargo conveyed by public transportation, the Czechoslovak State Railroads (CSD) accounted for 45.2 percent, the Czechoslovak State Automobile Transportation enterprise (CSAD) for 52.6 percent, and river transportation for 2.2 percent.

The railroads conveyed 296.5 million tons of goods, 1.0 percent more than in 1985. Railroad loading increased by 4.2 million tons to 250.2 million tons and the plan was fulfilled 101.7 percent. Average daily loading in terms of railroad car units increased 1.2 percent over 1985. There was a favorable development in some qualitative indicators—labor productivity per operational locomotive was raised 4.6 percent compared with 1985, and the average turnaround time per railroad car was cut short by 0.09 days, that is, 0.5 percent. However, it was still 0.11 days, that is, 2.8 percent, higher than planned.

As regards road freight transportation, the CSAD enterprise conveyed 345.3 million tons of goods, which was an increase of 1.8 percent over the preceding year. The CSAD enterprise consumed for freight transporation a total of 788.9 million liters of fuel, which is an increase of 0.9 percent. At the same time, performance in terms of ton-kilometers increased 3.6 percent. A total of 7 km of new motorway sections were put into operation. The motorway network now totals 496 km. The construction of bypass roads circumventing towns and villages continued.

River transportation conveyed 14.2 million tons of goods, an increase of 6.6 percent over the preceding year. The delivery of steam coal for the Chvaletice power station accounted for 26 percent of all river transportation. The growth in transportation was made possible by navigating conditions that were more favorable than those prevailing in 1985.

Public passenger transportation carried 2,720,600,000 persons and the number of travelers was 900,000 higher than the preceding year. The CSAD enterprise carried 2,299,900,000 passengers and the railroads 421,500,000 passengers. The number of passengers carried by the CSAD enterprise increased by 26 million compared with the preceding year, whereas the number of passengers carried by the CSD declined by 2.1 million. Air transport carried a total of 1.2 million passengers, 0.3 million of them on domestic routes. There was no improvement in the standard of the comfort of traveling by the CSD.

The Prague subway carried a total of 411 million persons, 23.0 percent more than in 1985. An average of 1,125,900 people a day thus used the subway.

In the field of COMMUNICATIONS, attention was focused on developing and improving communication services. The construction and modernization of radio and television transmitters continued, and technological processes

continued to be mechanized and automated. This applied, in particular, to facilities with a high concentration of packages and to the rationalization of the postal system of payment. The proportion of the CSSR territory covered by the signal of the second television channel further increased, to 71.2 percent. A total of 3.7 million telephones were in operation by 31 December 1986, of which 115,700 were added in the course of the year. The planned increase in the number of telephones was fulfilled 120.7 percent. The telephone density rate reached 23.8 per 100 inhabitants. The proportion of telephones connected to automated telephone exchanges reached 98.9 percent. There was an increase in the proportion of direct-dial calls.

A total of 1,403,200,000 pieces of regular mail, 84,200,000 pieces of registered mail, and 28,300,000 parcels and insured letters were delivered in 1986. Compared with 1985, the most notable increase was in registered mail, the deliveries of which increased 3.4 percent. A total of 1,315,000,000 copies of newspapers and periodicals were distributed through the Postal Newspaper Subscription Service.

#### Foreign Trade

The planned tasks in foreign trade were fulfilled. Total foreign trade turnover was 3 percent higher than in 1985. Foreign trade turnover with CEMA member-states alone increased 3.7 percent, of which turnover with the Soviet Union increased 1.9 percent. The share of socialist countries in total foreign trade turnover reached 78.6 percent. Planned exports to, and imports from, the socialist countries were exceeded. Planned exports to nonsocialist states were fulfilled on the whole. There was an increase in the proportion of exported engineering goods. As regards imports from non-socialist states, there was an increase in the proportion of machinery and equipment for capital investment needs. There was no increase in the effectiveness of exports, especially with regard to exports to nonsocialist states.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation with CEMA member-countries and with the Soviet Union in particular was expanded and diversified. Czechoslovakia's integration in the process of international specialization and production sharing increased, especially in engineering and electrical engineering, and the volume of exchanged goods, licenses, and scientific-technical information was expanded. Exports based on specialization and production sharing agreements accounted for 30 percent of all exports to socialist countries. In order to promote further the development of specialization and production sharing within the framework of cooperation with the socialist countries, measures were adopted aimed at bringing about direct ties among production organizations of CEMA member-countries and at setting up joint ventures.

Development of Foreign Trade (in current prices, all charges paid to up to the border of the delivering state)

	1986 as a percentage compared with 1985		1986 as a percentage compared with 1985
Exports, total	101.6	Imports, total	104.3
Of this: To socialist countries To nonsocialist states	102.4 98.9	Of this: From socialist countries From nonsocialist states	102.9 109.7

### Capital Construction

Investment work and deliveries carried out in the national economy (excluding the "Z" campaign [community self-improvement program] and private investment) amounted to Kcsl61.5 billion, of which building work accounted for Kcs86.5 billion and deliveries of machinery and equipment for Kcs75 billion.

The dynamism of capital construction was higher than planned but there were deviations from the plan in the substance and structure of investments. The volume of investment work and deliveries for investment projects was 2.8 percent higher than in 1985 (the plan provided for a 0.3-percent growth). The volume of machinery and equipment deliveries increased 7.0 percent, which was manifested in the increase in the share of machinery and equipment in the total volume of investments to 46.4 percent. However, neither the planned growth rate nor the planned share were achieved. The planned dynamism of the volume of building was exceeded—the actual volume of building work was only 0.6 percent lower than the year before whereas the plan foresaw a 5.5-percent drop.

Of the total volume of investment resources (excluding the "Z" campaign and private investment), 72.4 percent was spent on the development of the production sphere and 27.6 percent on the nonproduction sphere, of which almost 50 percent went into comprehensive housing construction. Of the investments in the production sphere, 55 percent went into industry, 21.4 percent into agriculture, and 17.1 percent into transportation and communications. The bulk of resources that were spent on industrial investment went into the further development of the metallurgy-engineering complex (32.3 percent) and the development of the fuel-power complex (27.7 petcent). A total of 6.9 percent of resources invested in industry were earmarked for the chemical industry and 8.3 percent for the light industry.

The value of investments in the agricultural-food industry complex (excluding special agricultural investments) totaled Kcs25.6 billion. Investment work and deliveries worth Kcs19.2 billion were carried out within the framework of supervised [regulatovany] agricultural investment, and the plan for these investments was fulfilled 116.8 percent. Investments in the food industry totaled Kcs5.5 billion and the plan was fulfilled 107.9 percent. A total of Kcs0.9 billion was invested in agricultural supplies

and procurement organizations, and a total of Kcs5.7 billion was spent on special agricultural investments, which was in excess of the planned target.

The proportion of modernization and reconstruction projects in the total volume of investments was low. Deficiencies in the planning process and in the supplies of materials and equipment, along with the excessively large number of projects simultaneously under construction (more than 32,000 projects in the course of 1986), were negatively reflected in excessively long construction deadlines, in delays in putting some capacities into operation and, at some new capacities, in the failure to live up to the projected specifications. The number of unfinished projects continued to be large and was not reduced to the planned level. The outstanding balance of the budgeted costs of planned building projects increased 1.4 percent.

Of the 71 capacities designated as mandatory tasks of the state plan and scheduled to be put on a trial run in the course of 1986, 60 were actually handed over to their users. The second and third units of the Dukovany nuclear power station, for example, were put into operation; the capacity of the Malesice and Treboradice heating plants was expanded; the steel plant of the Skoda Plzen enterprise was reconstructed; the tool-making capacities of the Automobile Works National Enterprise in Mlada Boleslav were enlarged; a facility for electron lithography was put into operation in the Tesla Brno plant; the Dvory plant of the Karlovy Vary China enterprise was reconstructed; cardboard production in the South Bohemian Paper Mill in Ceske Budejovice was renewed; the production of carbonless copying paper was launched in the Krkonose Paper Mill in Hostinne; the energy supply center of the Slavosov Paper Mill was reconstructed; the pass-through capacity of the Ceske Budejovice-Cicenice and Ceske Budejovice-Veseli nad Luznici railroad sections was enlarged; the Nymburk malt plant was put into operation; and irrigation facilities were built on 1,631 hectares in the East Slovak Lowlands.

Planned capacities that were not put into operation include, for example, the enlargement of facilities for the production of aluminum oxide in the ZSNP plant in Ziar nad Hronom; the production of semiblown [polofoukany asfalt] asphalt in the Slovnaft plant in Bratislava; the reconstruction of the Trebisov sugar refinery; the complex of buildings for the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague-8; and the heating plant in Brno-Lisen.

Nonproduction capacities that were put into operation include, for example, the new Central Slovakia aerial carrier on the Sucha mountain; a section of the drinking water supply system for the Temelin nuclear power station; the water main and sewage grid in Spindleruv Mlyn; the Ruzova-Janov "school in the open"; and the dormitory and emergency accommodations for the Mochovce nuclear power station.

Completed projects that were not designated as mandatory tasks of the state plan include, for example, the polyclinic of the Zetor Brno national enterprise; polyclinics in Jindrichuv Hradec and Nymburk; the Harrachov rehabilitation center; the Liberec nursing home; new shopping facilities completed at housing developments in Plzen, Pardubice, and Prague; school buildings

in Prague and Hradec Kralove; the reconstruction of the Ostrava theater; and the construction of a cinema in Nove Zamky, of a social center in Teplice, of the Central Tennis Court in Prague-Stvanice, of the rowing center in Roudnice, of additional facilities complementing the Nymburk and Bojnice training centers, and of sports halls in Bratislava-Raca and Dvur Kralove.

The liquidation of obsolescent capital assets continued at a slow pace. Planned tasks with regard to discarding these assets were not fulfilled in 1986.

#### Living Standards

The living standards of the population increased further. Compared with 1985, private consumption increased 2.2 percent and real personal earnings increased 2.9 percent.

EMPLOYMENT increased in harmony with the target laid down in the state plan. The rate of employment continued to grow faster in the nonproduction branches than in the branches of material production. The number of people employed in the national economy increased 1.0 percent; the increase for the production sphere was 0.7 percent, and for the nonproduction sphere 2.0 percent. Of the 74,000 newly employed people, 39,000 joined the production sphere and 35,000 the nonproduction sphere.

The fastest growth in employment was in the following branches: health care (2.6 percent), communal services (2 percent), education (1.8 percent), and science, research, and development (1.7 percent). There was a drop in the number of people employed in the leatherworking and footwear industry (0.9 percent), textile industry (0.6 percent), and timber-processing industry (0.5 percent).

Total PERSONAL EARNINGS increased 3.3 percent and amounted to Kcs430.4 billion. AVERAGE MONTHLY WAGES paid to employees in the socialist sector of the national economy, including united agricultural cooperatives, increased 1.6 percent and amounted to Kcs2,022. Real wages increased 1.2 percent.

PRIVATE SPENDING increased 2.6 percent over 1985 and totaled Kcs412.1 billion. The increase in deposits and cash holdings totaled Kcs18.3 billion in 1986, which was 4.3 percent of personal earnings. Deposits with branches of the State Savings Bank increased by Kcs16 billion and stood at Kcs234.9 billion at the end of the year. There was an increase in long-term deposits.

RETAIL TRADE TURNOVER for all trade networks on aggregate increased 2.8 percent compared with 1985, to Kcs304.7 billion (in current prices), that is, 0.2 percent more than foreseen by the state plan. Retail trade turnover for food increased 1.6 percent and for industrial merchandise 3.9 percent. The share of industrial merchandise in total retail trade turnover represented 52.9 percent, which was in keeping with the plan.

Supplies of foodstuffs to the population were generally free of disruption; seasonal and local problems were the result of some shortcomings with regard to the structure of products and of distribution problems. Despite increased deliveries of meat products by 16,900 tons, which was a 2.2 percent increase compared with 1985, demand for cheaper cuts of meat and for some meat products was not fully met. The variety of dairy products and cheese continued to be limited and there were problems with the supplies of fruit and vegetables and nonalcoholic beverages.

There was an increase in the volume of domestically produced goods supplied to the home market. Compared with the preceding year, deliveries of freezers, for example, increased 8.1 percent, deliveries of color television sets 4.7 percent, deliveries of automatic washing machines 6.0 percent, and sales of passenger cars 2.0 percent. However, neither the increased volume of deliveries by domestic producers nor imports sufficed to fully meet the demand of the public for, above all, freezers, large-volume refrigerators, top-loading washing machines, domestically produced color television sets and sports bicycles, gas boilers, and unit furniture. Demand for tires and coating materials was not met either. Producers of textiles, knitwear, footwear, and men's readymade wear did not succeed in eliminating persistent problems with the variety of their products. Shortcomings in the quality and technical standards of supplied products also continued.

Shop space in the retail trade network was further expanded. New shopping facilities built within the framework of comprehensive housing construction were opened. A total of four department stores and a number of shopping centers were completed.

The general dynamism of SERVICES provided by enterprises of local production and services and by production cooperatives increased, not only when compared with the year 1985 but also when compared with the tasks laid down in economic plans. Performance excluding material consumption (net performance) increased more than 4 percent and the plan was fulfilled 101 percent. Proceeds from the provision of paid services increased more than 2 percent (compared with an increase of only 0.7 percent in 1985). A number of organizations rendering services had to grapple with problems concerning supplies of materials and equipment, with shortages of spare parts, with the poor quality of production equipment, with inadequate measuring equipment, and with a shortage of skilled manpower.

Of the individual types of services, the fastest pace of development was recorded by repairs of tires and inner tubes, including tire retreading, and by repairs of electric household appliances. The public showed little interest in custom-made consumer goods. With regard to the building trade, there continued to be a shortage of capacities for slaters', chimney sweeps', and plasterers' jobs. Work operations connected with the maintenance of the housing stock were not adequately ensured.

There was an increase in the number of facilities providing emergency services and services in the homes of customers. Opening hours were extended, delivery deadlines shortened, and services expanded in a number

of localities. Nevertheless, shortcomings in the even distribution of the service network and in the accessibility and availability of services continue, especially with regard to drycleaner's establishments, shoe repair shops, and made-to-measure tailoring.

The aggregate RETAIL PRICE index for goods and services increased 0.5 percent compared with the preceding year. The cost of living index was 0.4 percent higher. This development of the two indexes was due, above all, to the cancellation of the temporary reduction of the retail prices of wine and to routine changes in the assortment of fast-selling [vysokoobratkove] consumer durables.

PUBLIC CONSUMPTION remained an important constituent part of living standards. It increased 3.4 percent over 1985, to Kcs182.7 billion. Per-capita public consumption stood at Kcs11,756, which was Kcs364 more than in 1985. There were significant increases in the sums spent on health care, education, and social security.

A number of measures was implemented that improve the working and living conditions for some groups of citizens. This concerns, above all, the improvement of working and hygiene conditions and preventive care for miners working at exposed workplaces in deep mines. Prerequisites were also established for preferential wage allocations to enterprises that employ disabled citizens.

In the 1986/87 SCHOOL YEAR, a total of 394,000 apprentices are being trained for workers' professions at secondary vocational schools, 54,000 of them at schools ending with a secondary-school graduation. A total of 343,000 students are undergoing daytime studies at gymnasiums or secondary technical and commercial schools, and 169,000 students are enrolled at institutions of higher learning. Schools continued to be supplied with modern teaching equipment and small computers. A total of 669,000 children attended kindergarten.

CULTURE continued to develop. A total of 7,026 books were published in 1986 with a print run of 102,200,000. A total of 1,396 films were shot, 43 of them full-length feature films. Cinema attendance was 78.7 million and theater attendance 8.5 million. Czechoslovak Television in the Czech SR and the Slovak SR each aired 7,210 hours of television broadcasts. The proportion of color programs on the first television channel increased from 90.4 percent in 1985 to 94.9 percent in 1986. Broadcasting time on the first television channel averaged 11.8 hours a day and first screenings accounted for 69.8 percent of all programs shown on the first channel. Among the most interesting cultural events of 1986 were the exhibition that marked the 40th anniversary of the nationalization of the Czechoslovak film industry, concerts of the traditional Prague Spring music festival, and a number of festivals of popular, folk, and rock music.

The number of beds in MEDICAL CARE ESTABLISHMENTS remained at the 1985 level. A total of 195,500 such beds are available, 123,100 of them in hospitals. There was a further decrease in the patient-physician ratio, from 278:1 in

1985 to 274:1 in 1986. The number of places in creches totaled 123,500 at the end of 1986. There was a further increase in the proportion of places in enterprise-run creches, including creches operated by cooperatives; this proportion reached 27.2 percent at the end of 1986. A total of 456,500 patients were treated in Czechoslovak spas in 1986 and 646,200 working people participated in recreational sojourns organized by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement.

The sum total of social security payments (pension payments plus health insurance payments) increased 2.9 percent compared with 1985, to Kcs86.3 billion. The volume of pension payments increased 2.5 percent compared with 1985, to Kcs54.2 billion, and the number of pensions increased from 3,986,000 to 4,025,000. In the same period, the number of old age pensions alone increased from 2,212,000 to 2,248,000. The average old age pension was 1.2 percent higher than in 1985 and amounted to Kcs1,355. A total of Kcs32.1 billion was paid out in health insurance payments, of which sick pay expenditures accounted for Kcs9.1 billion. This represents an increase of 10.1 percent compared with 1985, an increase that was due to a rise in the rate of incapacitation for work. The average rate of incapacitation for work increased from 4.33 percent in 1985 to 4.56 percent in 1986. This means that an average of 368,000 employees a day were absent from their places of work, 18,000 more than in 1985. The total volume of cash assistance to families with children increased 0.3 percent compared with 1985, to Kcs23.5 billion. The sum paid out in children's allowances, Kcsl6.4 billion, was the same as the year before. The average allowance per unprovided-for-child was Kcs440 a month.

A total of 78,200 apartments were completed within the framework of HOUSING CONSTRUCTION and the state plan was fulfilled 94 percent. A total of 15,600 of the new apartments were built within the framework of communal housing construction, 35,200 within cooperative housing construction, 2,800 within enterprise housing construction, and 24,600 within private housing construction. The plan remained unfulfilled to the tune of 5,000 apartments. Of this nonfulfillment, cooperative construction accounted for 1,200 apartments, enterprise construction for 2,200 apartments, and private construction for 1,700 apartments, while the plan of communal housing construction was exceeded by 100 apartments.

Apartment construction was not always accompanied by a consistent fulfillment of tasks in the construction of public facilities. In a number of cases there were also problems with the quality of apartments handed over to their users.

Projects worth Kcs4.3 billion were completed as part of the "Z" campaign, of which water conservancy projects, for example, accounted for Kcs947.6 million and projects in the field of education for Kcs618.7 million. The total volume of projects completed within the "Z" campaign was roughly the same as in 1985.

Construction of effluent treatment plants and of air protection installations continued within the framework of the wide-ranging program of protecting and creating the ENVIRONMENT. The production of forestry seedlings increased and the citizens displayed greater initiative during specific activities within

the framework of election programs aimed at protecting and creating the environment.

In the course of 1986, construction started on 230 ecological projects (counting only those with budgeted costs over Kcs10 million) with budgeted costs totaling Kcs12.8 billion. A total of 113 of these projects, with budgeted costs of Kcs6.5 billion, are aimed at protecting the purity of water, 76 projects with budgeted costs of Kcs3.0 billion are aimed at protecting the atmosphere, and 41 projects with budgeted costs of Kcs3.3 billion are waste disposal or recycling plants. Ecological projects completed in 1986 include, for example, an effluent treatment plant and related chemical facilities in the Bohumin Iron and Wire Works, installations liquidating and utilizing emissions from the Kovohute Krompachy plant, the reconstruction of furnaces and installation of dust collectors in the Czech Shale and Coal Plant in Nove Straseci, the deodorizing of poor [chudy] expansive gases in the Vresova Fuel Combine, and the Smirice and Veseli nad Luznici effluent treatment plants.

The DEMOGRAPHIC DEVELOPMENT reflected a continuation of the trend of the past few years. There were 220,000 live births, that is, 5,000 fewer than in 1985. There was a further decline in the natural increase of the population, to 2.3 per 1,000 inhabitants. A total of 120,000 marriages were concluded (compared with 121,000 in 1985) and 37,000 couples were divorced in 1986. The population rose by 35,000 against 1985 and reached 15,555,000 at the end of the year.

/6091 CSO: 2400/129 ECONOMY

#### RELIABILITY OF NUCLEAR POWER PRAISED IN PRAGUE

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 16 Dec 86 p 3

[Article by Viktor Meier: "Prague Seeking to Promote Confidence in Nuclear Power Plants"]

[Text] Able Plant Managers; Customary Disorder at Construction Site

Dukovany, 15 December—The eight huge cooling towers of the Dukovany nuclear power plant arise out of a jumble of high-tension power lines smack in the middle of Southern Moravia's flat hill country. The Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry invited the foreign correspondents accredited in Prague to an excursion to the plant. That was an excellent idea; it would have been even more excellent if the promoters had also provided for a translation of the interesting explanations provided by the plant managers and if the journalists had been able to visit not only the management building but the actual production installations. Like all other East Bloc countries, Czechoslovakia, following the Chernobyl disaster, unhesitatingly came out in support of the continued expansion of nuclear energy but at the same time promised neighboring countries, especially Austria, to take all possible safety precautions.

Czechoslovakia entered into a formal consultation treaty on that issue with Austria. The Czechoslovak nuclear power plants are regularly checked by the International Atomic Energy Authority in Vienna of which Czechoslovakia is a member.

The main topic of conversation with the foreign journalists was the safety of Czechoslovak atomic power plants because an entire string of atomic power plants will soon extend along Czechoslovakia's southern border, opposite Austria and partly also opposite Hungary: Bohunice and Mohovce in Slovakia, not far from Pressburg (Bratislava), Dukovany in Moravia and, currently under construction, Temelin near Budweis [Budejovice] in Southern Bohemia. Reactor capacities are being increased constantly. During the 1960's, Bohunice began with 150 Mw; at this time, four reactors at 440 Mw are in operation at Dukovany and plans call for 1,000 Mw per reactor at Temelin from the very start. These reactor capacities will later on also be attained in the additional planned construction phases of the existing power plants. The Austrian nuclear power opponents until now have been zeroing in above all on Wackersdorf because it is obviously easier to demonstrate against capitalists

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but the string of Czechoslovak power plants near the border probably is more difficult to tackle.

Again and again, the plant managers in Dukovany, in talking to the journalists, pointed out that Czechoslovak safety devices can stand any international comparison. They say that Chernobyl was a question "of order and discipline"; in the Czechoslovak plants, for example, they indicate, it is not even possible manually to turn off essential safety systems. There is no reason to doubt the protestations or the qualities of leading Czechoslovak personnel. But even in Dukovany, for example, one cannot help but notice at every construction site that chaos and that disorder which characterize construction sites in the entire East Bloc. One knows that things are again and again missing or getting lost at such construction site, that it is necessary to improvise, and that there is often a lack of interest in solidarity and responsibility which is inherent in the system itself. Is Czechoslovakia in this respect really quite so different from its big socialist brother? By the way, during the construction of the Gabcikovo hydroelectric power plant, Prague turned out to be rather chintzy, compared to the socialist "brothers," when it came to questions of environmental protection and even long-term security. In explaining the safety installations, the plant managers in Dukovany were also constantly remarking that "Soviet experts" are also involved in this. But after Chernobyl, such expressions of respect do not exactly build confidence.

The journalists were told that Czechoslovakia needs nuclear energy because the brown coal deposits are expected to run out around the year 2000 and because brown coal moreover has a devastating effect on the environment. This latter circumstance is probably the reason why no major antinuclear movement has sprung up in that country until now. It would seem that the East Bloc as a whole cannot get along without nuclear energy because its other energy sources threaten to run dry within the next several decades, or, as in the case of water power, because they are available only to a limited extent. On that issue, it would seem to be illusory to expect any political reversal.

Confidence in Czechoslovakia as an energy partner could be increased if that country were able to find its way back to trustworthy normality in relations with neighbors also in other fields, the way this began to develop once before during the 1960's. Progress is of course undeniable but Prague is still behind the other socialist countries. This question would seem to be closely tied to the general political development in that country. Gorbachev's new line so far has not introduced any changes into the system of Czechoslovakia and it seems at this point in time that one cannot expect any major changes. Not even those circles which should be interested in reforms display much initiative. "Prague first of all wants to see what Gorbachev is after in the first place and where he can prevail," commented an Eastern European observer. In the nearby Kreis town of Trebic -- with its half-Romanesque and half-Gothic cathedral -- a well-designed and interesting museum displays wall-sized Christmas mangers with moving figures, built by craftsmen during the first half of the last century. One or two of those mangers had been on display in 1967 at the Montreal World's Fair. At this point one involuntarily remembers that Czechoslovak pavilion of that time which was a monument to the creative forces of the Czechs and Slovaks who had at last been able somewhat to liberate themselves from the straitjacket which had been put on them in 1948. Post cards on the wall in the museum recall those brief days of glory. Czechoslovakia is not yet in a position to catch up with the image it projected at Montreal.

### CONTROL CHAMBER HEAD DETAILS ECONOMIC IRREGULARITIES

AU142021 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 6 Jan 87 p 5

["Extensive excerpts" from speech by General Tadeusz Hupalowski, chairman of the Supreme Chamber of Control, at the 16-17 December 1986 Third PZPR Plenum in Warsaw: "We Need Increased Responsibility for Features of Bad Economic Management"]

[Text] The realization of the new system of running the national economy has continued for the past 3 years. Although it began in most unfavorable conditions, this realization has produced good improvements in many areas. Unfortunately, there are areas without these improvements.

The second stage of the economic reform is a time for removing deadwood, purging the ground, sorting out the organization of the economy, and neutralizing dangers, especially those that are caused by people's conduct in the process of production and management. During our control checks we meet with a rather general tendency toward excusing various shortcomings by objective reasons. It is true that objective difficulties do exist on account of the painful effects of the economic sanctions, our excessive debts, unfavorable conditions of foreign trade, the poor flow of raw and other materials, especially those imported, and some other reasons. However, these objective conditions, which are part of the reality around us, should stimulate our ingenuity, militancy, and efforts instead of frustrating us.

On the strength of the control checks carried out by the Supreme Chamber of Control and the Worker-Peasant Inspectorates, I wish to present to you disturbing features of the economy. In particular, I have in mind disproportions between work input and work output and defects of the realization of the economic reform because of bad management and profligacy.

Consistent calculations of outlays and achievements are the basis of rational economic management. We should always know what it takes to achieve an appointed goal, that is, what we should produce at the cost of outlays and labor. Our control checks entitle us to assert that, unfortunately, what we produce costs as a rule much more than originally planned. For example, our annual investment outlays produce only 65-70 percent of planned results. It is disturbing that even this indicator tends to go down.

In the first three quarters of this year only 30 percent of the planned annual investment projects were completed for use. As for communal investments, which have been so neglected in the past years, in 1985 only 67 percent of the planned water pipelines and only 59 percent of the planned water reservoirs were completed.

In all the 13 voivodships subjected to control checks, the fulfillment of 1985 communal investments was glaringly behind the planned costs, which means that the authorized funds were spent without completing the planned projects. Control checks have also revealed that the commissioning of production capacities of new plants and shops is always late and that the actual production capacities are lower than planned. The 1984 production losses on this account amounted to Z97 billion and in 1985 to Z106 billion. We estimate that in 1982-85 we failed to fulfill the planned production tasks to the tune of Z430 billion, which accounts for about one-third of the production capacities that were planned to be commissioned within this period.

Deconcentration of the investment program, extended investment schedules, and the prolonged commissioning of new investments add to our burden of costs and increase the commitment and freezing of outlays.

Perhaps it is true that we spend too little to satisfy our needs, but it is certainly true that we spend quite a lot on research into the conservation of fuels and energy; yet the results in this regard are still negligible.

The government coordination program called "The Comprehensive Development of Energy" stipulated that in 1985 we should conserve 6-8 million metric tons of normal fuel, but although later this figure was reduced to 1.5 million metric tons, we were able to conserve only slightly over 100,000 metric tons. The Z4.3 billion provided for the implementation of that program's provisions about fuel and energy conservation were spent almost to a penny. The chief reasons for the poor results of this implementation were errors in programming work and, especially, errors in coordinating investments, modernization plans, work schedules, and accounting procedures. Our chamber applied for the dismissal of members of the administration of research-development center of the energy economy who were responsible for serious irregularities.

Other control checks have disclosed that plants take little interest in modernizing production and products. We found out that only one-third of the resources of the technological-economic fund open to plants was used in 1982-85. Over Z72 billion are still in that fund. Almost 50 percent of controlled units spent the resources of the fund on purposes that have nothing to do with technology and the economy. This kind of spending was favored by the fact that the fund's resources are kept together with other funds and revolving capital in the same bank accounts.

Most of the plants subjected to control failed to analyze the modernity of their production and 30 percent of them failed to draw up any technological progress plans. Plants' cooperation with scientific research units was inadequate. Another reason for plants' poor interest in scientifictechnological progress is the ease with which they and their work forces

are able to make increased profits without caring about wearisome innovations. Unfortunately, the not always honest manipulations with prices and stocks and various claims for taxation reliefs are much more harmful. In view of this I think that we must take twofold action: to aggravate the sanctions against such practices and to strengthen the economic incentives to induce plants to take greater interest in modernizing their production lines.

Inflation can be halted mainly by reducing production costs to objective ceilings and by taking care to reduce them. In view of the need to increase the price of coal—especially since this price is too low in relation to production costs and in relation to world prices—I wish to state that the results of two normal control checks have demonstrated that it is possible to greatly reduce the rate of increases in the cost of coal extraction, primarily by better exploiting production facilities.

Comrade Hanf is right in saying that the costs of coal extraction must not continue to go up. It is true that coal mines continue to be supplied with equipment that costs more and more and that coal extraction continues to take place under increasingly difficult conditions, but control checks have demonstrated that thorough analyses of extraction processes, mining work organization down below, and honest certification of jobs can create great opportunities for reducing prime costs and for considerably relieving the state budget, which is very tight.

We all know that the situation concerning land reclamation is difficult. If we continued to fulfill land reclamation tasks at the present pace, it would take us some 40 years to complete them. Another task is to replace and regenerate the necessary equipment. The 10th party congress saw how dangerous this problem is and stipulated that some 700,000 hectares of land should be reclaimed. As for the voivodships, they estimate that they are able to reclaim some 400,000 hectares. The operational potential of land reclamation units is still rather weak, and the situation is made worse by the poor supply and bad quality of drainage pipes. Control checks, which have still not been completed, show that the present land reclamation costs adopted by voivodships are not quite correct because there is evidence to show that there are many cases of inflated estimates of tasks, of bills presented for fictional results, and of claims for payments that are much higher than they should actually be.

That is why land reclamation units manage to prosper quite well amid our land reclamation poverty. Their profits account on the average for 24 percent of their outlays and considerably exceed norms. In 1985 they earned Z9.8 billion and paid some Z6 billion in taxation to the state instead of committing this sum to further land reclamation. Instead of chasing excessive profits, these units should devote their energy to actual land reclamation. It happens that local authorities do not always use the reclamation funds, which are granted them from the central reserve, for land reclamation. For example, Tarnow Voivodship was granted Z210 million on land reclamation from the central reserve, but it used only Z70 million for reclamation in 1984. In 1985 it spent all the Z210 million from the central reserve on purposes other than land reclamation.

That people disregard the tasks to improve the efficiency of economic management is attested to by the fact that they claim that simple economic reserves are about to be exhausted or are already exhausted. Nothing could be more harmful than such a stance. Such reserves are still there and are quite considerable, but the thing is that they often fail to be tapped because employees responsible for tapping them fail to discharge their basic duties as attested to by numerous control checks.

Just an example: Last year we subjected to control checks the entire sugar campaign from the procurement of sugar beets through sugar deliveries from sugar mills. Because of many irregularities and failures concerning the handling of sugar beets and sugar production technology, the Torun sugar mills lost sugar worth Z180 million; the Lubna sugar mill in Kielce Voivod-ship increased its production costs by almost two and a half times compared with production costs in the cheapest sugar mill in Znin, Bydgoszcz Voivod-ship; and the same Lubna mill was able to extract only 50 percent of the sugar available in the beets supplied to it. This low extraction was caused by the bad organization of the mill and by poor supervision.

Another reason why reserves are not tapped is the lacking concern for the serviceability of machines and equipment. In view of the progressive depreciation of machines and equipment, their modernization or at least overhaul acquire special importance. We controlled 52 plants and found out that in 41 of them the state of machines was bad. In addition, some of these plants failed to carry out even the minimum prescribed repairs and overhauls.

At present we have only 96 local state plants, which engage in small-scale production in 29 voivodships. Although legal conditions for developing small-scale production, which includes state-run local industries, have been created, no tangible progress can be seen in this production. The relevant law has been in force for 2 years, but only two such plants have been set up in the past 2 years—in Gdansk and Tarnobrzeg Voivodships.

The performance of the Krakow Opakomet plant for metal cans and small containers illustrates the selective and very peculiar approach to the economic reform. This plant was very scrupulous in demanding that state-run plants refund convertible currency deposits for the supply of cans and small containers. Our checks have found out that many of these demands were excessive. On the other hand, for reasons that are difficult to ascertain, the Opakomet plant did not make any demand for convertible currency payments from a private firm using foreign capital. These payments amounted to about \$500,000. The decision to discipline the manager of the plant has been very long in the making, and now the whole affair is to be evaluated by the party. The Central Control-Audit Commission hopes that the Voivodship Commissions will supply the necessary information as soon as possible.

I would like to present to you other issues of economic thrift and the struggle against profligacy, the great source of which continues to be the bad quality of production. Export products are now of better quality, but products for domestic use still leave much to be desired. Only very few of the 159 products manufactured by plants and cooperatives and controlled by us

appeared to be of better quality, but the better quality of some products was merely apparent. Bad quality reduced the flow of goods and caused growing repair costs. The number of customers' claims continues to increase. Control checks in 52 industrial plants showed that production losses and costs of guaranteed repairs increased almost 18 percent on the average in 40 such plants, compared with 1985.

Technical defects in block housing construction, such as freezing and leaking walls, are a special form of waste. In 1985 we had twice as many such defects as in 1981-82 when it was decided to pay for such repairs from the state budget. At the end of the first 6 months of this year the number of blocks with freezing walls amounted to 10,800 and those with leaking walls to 3,400. In line with the new thermal norm, new apartments should be constructed with walls that have better insulation qualities.

Our control checks have shown that in 1985, 26 percent of the blocks were constructed in line with old technological norms, but that the quality of the blocks is generally better. Still, we found out that in some cases builders failed to observe the new technological norms in construction. The plastic insulation materials would partially melt, and this was responsible for failure to achieve the prescribed thermal insulation and caused double losses.

Railroad rolling stock is still without proper care. There is a permanent shortage of freight cars, and users complain of this, but control checks in 69 large enterprises showed that all of them damaged or withheld freight cars. For example, in the Bierut foundry in Czestochowa hot iron and coke were poured into cars with wooden linings. In 1985 firemen were summoned 27 times to put out burning cars and in the first quarter of this year 6 times. Damage to freight cars should be paid for by plants, but control checks disclosed that most plants included such payments in their prime production costs, thus evading responsibility.

Another example of carelessness: In 1981-85 losses caused by the short weight of loads, especially of imported cereals and feed loaded abroad by Polish vessels and unloaded in our ports, amounted to some \$30 million. In 1984-85 it was impossible to account for over 22,000 metric tons of cereals, which is the amount equal to a 2-year procurement of cereals in, for example, Krosno Voivodship. The worst thing is that these unaccounted losses of cereals have occurred for many years, but no one has been able to find out why and no one has tried to prevent them.

Cases of open profligacy were also rife. For example, in the vessel Garwolin, bags of sugar were stored together with bags of fishmeal. As a result, some 4,500 bags of sugar had to be sold by auction at a price that lost us \$34,300. The guilty were never found! This is nothing unusual. Polish merchant navy operators continue to be most tolerant of the negligence of their employees and of the large losses they cause in zlotys and convertible currency.

Failure to stick to discipline and legal regulations when organizing official trips abroad is another example of bad husbandry. We controlled the

conditions of some 3,000 such trips and found out that at least 30 percent of them violated the regulations. Every fifth trip was badly organized, many trips were glaringly unnecessary, many were staffed by incompetent people.

Although I said at the beginning that we have achieved unquestioned improvements in many areas of the national economy, today I presented only that which continues to hinder our economic development and debase the good results achieved by large numbers of our plants and institutions. Radically eliminating various irregularities is one of the conditions that must be fulfilled if we want to radically accelerate the country's economic development. After each control check we analyze the responsibility of the people whose actions and inaction caused various irregularities. Our chamber asks the appropriate authorities to apply service, party, material, and if necessary, penal sanctions against such people.

In 1985 service sanctions were applied against 6,213 persons, including 904 managers. During the first three quarters of this year we applied for sanctions against 4,806 such persons, including 702 managers. However, it must be said that our applications encounter stubborn resistance and that persons guilty of even glaring irregularities find only too easily influential and potent defenders. Of course, control cannot be effective under such conditions.

Our chamber is able to assert that direct supervisors are excessively tolerant toward the dishonesty of their subordinates in discharging duties and fulfilling tasks. Managers and founding bodies, including even ministries, often fail to see the educational value of punishment for negligence and irregularities. This tolerance intensifies a sense of impunity in violating economic and moral principles and helps create an atmosphere of liberalism in relations between employees and managers, an atmosphere in which public interests cannot thrive.

One aspect of the party's leading role is consistent political control discharged by party organizations and cells. The second stage of the economic reform calls for strengthening responsibility for bad husbandry, defiance of the laws, disregarding official duties, bad supervision, abuse of official positions for personal gain, and violating the principles of socialist social justice.

That is why we must never forget the Politburo resolution of 16 October 1984 on party activities to increase the effectiveness of control checks.

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### EXPERTS, OFFICIALS HOLD ROUNDTABLE ON BANKRUPTCY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 20-21 Dec 86 pp 3,4

[Roundtable "Waiting for Bankruptcy, or Economic Coercion in Practice" with Lucjan Bogobowicz, adviser to the chairman of the National Bank of Poland, Jozef Gorski, managing commissioner of the FOC [Frictional Linings Plant] in Marki near Warsaw, Cezary Stypulkowski, adviser in the Office of the Council of Ministers and Andrzej Wroblewski, member of the Secretariat of the Commission for Economic Reform, director of the team for planning methods and regulatory systems in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers; moderator Andrzej Zmuda of the ZYCIE WARSZAWY editorial staff]

[Text] Enterprises which disregard the economic rules of the game are in danger of having major financial difficulties, leading in many cases to the loss of creditworthiness and, subsequently, to insolvency or closure. We discussed these problems at ZYCIE WARSZAWY offices with our invited guests.

The following took part in the discussion: Lucjan Bogobowicz, adviser to the Chairman of the National Bank of Poland, Jozef Gorski, managing commissioner of the FOC [Frictional Linings Plant] in Marki near Warsaw, Cezary Stypulkowski, adviser in the Office of the Council of Ministers and Andrzej Wroblewski, member of the Secretariat of the Commission for Economic Reform, director of the team for planning methods and regulatory systems in the Planning Commission of the Council of Ministers. Andrzej Zmuda moderated for ZYCIE WARSZAWY.

[A. Zmuda] In a way, insolvency is a dramatic outcome of the failure by an enterprise and its management to comply with the principles of economics and the rules of economic reform. The point is to prevent such an outcome. There is the view that we are resorting to this device too gingerly, that in practice the law on reorganizing enterprise management and insolvency, on the books for more than 3 years, is not being enforced...

[A. Wroblewski] I believe it is worthwhile to recall the cases in which the enterprise can have the "pleasure" of having to deal with this law.

Firstly, let us consider the failure by the enterprise to meet its obligations to the treasury. This often involves high taxes for exceeding above—the—norm level of remuneration (formerly the PFAZ [National Vocational Mobilization and

Retraining Fund], at present, a modified [tax], more adjusted to the peculiarities of individual branches). It should be noted that this very tax on wages is the main cause of financial difficulties in more than one-half of cases. Likewise, an increase in unjustified costs caused by poor quality and fines for a breach of contract, e.g. a bad delivery, may be the reason for succumbing to the restrictions due to the insolvency law.

An enterprise also runs into difficulties if it generates too little profit compared to bank loans, e.g. for investment, i.e. when its profit margin is too low due to various reasons. This also happens when a given enterprise allocates too much of its profit for distribution, to pay taxes on the growth of wages and contributions to the fund of the workforce, at the expense of the development fund.

The reasons for this can be both subjective (bad planning and management) and objective (e.g. disruptions in imports of inputs). However, the principles of economics are inexorable. Frequently, an enterprise loses the right to draw bank loans and must work out a program of reorganizing its management.

- [A. Zmuda] Now let us turn to the facts. What is the situation with candidates for bankruptcy?
- [L. Bogobowicz] The bank makes financing the so-called bankruptcy candidates contingent on them preparing and implementing efficiently a program of reorganizing management, which will ensure a return to normal and regular financial conditions. At the end of November of this year, there were 331 enterprises in the state sector, including 60 under commissioner management, which have had the "pleasure", as director Wroblewski put it, of encountering this law. Out of those, 241 enterprises received bank loans on the basis of reorganization programs, 56 got loans conditionally, the program pending, and 34 enterprises were refused credit by the bank due to the failure to submit programs for effectively turning the situation around or due to unsatisfactory fulfillment of the programs submitted.
- [A. Zmuda] What about classical bankruptcy cases?
- [L. Bogobowicz] This year, two bankruptcy petitions have been filed in courts...
- [A. Zmuda] These include the petition by "Domgos" in Zabrze, described in ZYCIE WARSZAWY, which was changed into... a merger of this enterprise with another, large one. In other words, there is still no bankruptcy?
- [L. Bogobowicz] This is true of "Domgos"; however, there also are classical bankruptcies. Insolvency has been declared in the case of two enterprises, "Budopol" in Sosnowiec and Communal Construction Enterprise in Gryfow. A bankruptcy petition of the Rural Construction Enterprise in Jelenia Gora is awaiting a court ruling. Besides, 15 enterprises have been and 5 are in the process of being closed down.
- [A. Zmuda] In this closing down for real, or is it a customary merger with a stronger enterprise? We have heard about the assistance by various "kind

souls," who protect, absorb and buy out the wimpy ones, whatever it takes to prevent bankruptcy. In this what economic coercion is all about?

[C. Stypulkowski] Let us define what insolvency is. In this instance, I am ignoring the legal aspect, for which there is an express definition. Are we not making insolvency into a fetish of sorts? After all, there may be very many reasons for poor performance by an enterprise, beside poor management and subjective faults of a given management team. There may be a recession, lack of demand for products (to be sure, this is not a present danger, but it might happen) or lack of opportunity to switch to a different product mix.

In a classical sense, insolvency occurs when creditors want to collect their dues from the debtor, but the assets of the latter are insufficient to satisfy everybody. It is no accident that our law refers first to management reorganization and then to insolvency right in its title. A bankruptcy action is the ultimate necessity, the most far-reaching expression of economic coercion. The philosophy of the 1983 law is based primarily on the procedure preceding bankruptcy and on its prevention. It is known that journalists and public opinion yearn for a spectacular bankruptcy. Hand in hand with this goes the belief that this is the remedy for the poor condition of the economy. Some regard it as a criterion of the genuine intent of the reform. This is why I think that we need actual bankruptcy cases very much, all reservations concerning social consequences etc. notwithstanding.

[A. Zmuda] We know quite a few cases when large enterprises are in a very difficult financial situation, carry out reorganization programs poorly but nonetheless live in relative peace... They take advantage of being monopolistic producers of a given item. Therefore, nobody can summon up the courage and put them up for sale. Then, economic coercion becomes nothing but a fiction.

[C. Stypulkowski] Unfortunately, this does happen. Then, there is nothing else to do but to appeal to the feeling of responsibility of management and employee self-government of these entereprises. After all, we have with us here a managing commissioner of exactly such an enterprise, the only producer in our country of frictional linings for producing clutches and brakes. Without its products, speaking simplistically, motorization and transportation would be paralyzed...

[J. Gorski] This gives me no comfort at all, exactly because we know the significance of our products for industry and transportation in our country.

I became the managing commissioner of the FOC in January of this year, when, to give one example, contributions to the PFAZ equaled the annual wages paid. We prepared a program of improvement, submitted to and accepted by the bank. As a result, our credit line was reopened in March. However, I am not benefitting from the help of any "kind souls." All I got was the title and a blessing.

We are beginning to push up from the bottom, but at what price? Among other things, by working on all Saturdays and as a result of an array of other

- austerity measures, with constant personnel shortages and a shrinking workforce.
- [A. Zmuda] Does anybody help you, e.g. the association, the parent agency?
- [J. Gorski] Unfortunately, we are largely left to our own devices. I am preparing a new program, including a long-range one. However, thus far there has not even been an attempt to evaluate my work as a commissioner. I do not know what assistance I can count on and from whom. Maybe, somebody will want to buy us out.
- I think that a managing commissioner should have a certain period of time and assistance in his work, as well as certain funds for the bankruptcy candidate to overcome his difficulties... Meanwhile, pursuant to the financial guidelines in effect, the bank carried out a formal financial audit of the enterprise in as little as 3 months of my work, counting from the time the National Bank of Poland approved the reorganization. On the basis of that audit, the bank decides whether to open credit or to suspend it further. There are no preferences, privileges etc. in this matter. This does not facilitate the process of restoring equilibrium.
- [C. Stypulkowski] What kind of assets can be involved here? Perhaps, only money. Who can give you those? There may be several partners: the treasury, the bank, maybe also firms which are interested in a factory like yours maintaining permanent deliveries. If you could get everything from the outside, than why the reorganization program and commissioner management in the first place?
- [J. Gorski] I will not complain here, but we indeed have a difficult produciton environment (asbestos), competition by industry in the capital etc. Our equipment pool is 80 percent depreciated; in 5 years, not a single spare part has been purchased for hard currency, whereas our equipment is mostly of Western origin. We do export our products, but, once again, our retained hard currency allowance for imports of materials is blocked...
- Of course, we could count on the help of our customers, but in what form?
- [A. Zmuda] Be that as it may, you cannot go bankrupt, nor can you switch to a completely different product. I would like to ask whether under these circumstances you could consider such an organizational form as a partnership or a mixed company.
- [C. Stypulkowski] This is possible, though difficult from the legal and economic point of view. Besides, the partners must have the funds needed and a willingness to take risks.
- [A. Zmuda] After all, there are provisions for setting up partnerships, recently presented in the so-called package of amendments to economic laws.
- [A. Wroblewski] That is correct. However, the entire set of proposals concerning structures in the economy, mergers, splitting enterprises, and so on has been postponed for further discussion. Meanwhile, such a format for

- creating a partnership using the assets of a potential bankrupt could be very useful...
- [A. Zmuda] There is no denying that in this case enterprises of the "Polmo" association should be more interested in improving the situation at the FOC in Marki than anybody else...
- [C. Stypulkowski] What we have here is a characteristic example of what monopolization of production brings about. In practice, a customer cannot opt for a cheaper and better supplier inside the country. Due to the existing hard currency restrictions, he cannot overcome this obstacle through imports, which are often cheaper and of a higher quality.
- [A. Zmuda] In other words, anybody can go bankrupt, except the monopolists. But can we agree with the practice of merging small, economically weak enterprises with strong and large ones? For example, "Elwro" in Wroclaw absorbed "Volta", though their production profiles are very different. Doesn't this amount to watering down economic coercion?
- [L. Bogobowicz] It is difficult to pass an unambiguous judgement on such cases. Sometimes absorbing an enterprise on the path to insolvency can be economically justifiable, especially if these are cooperating enterprises. However, it is regrettable when enterprises are merged without a deeper economic analysis.
- [C. Stypulkowski] I would not at all be concerned about similarity of output mixes in cases like that. This must be considered in terms of profitability. If a large enterprise takes over a small "bankruptcy candidate," it knows what it is doing—assuming its obligations. Also, employee councils must agree to such a merger.
- [A. Zmuda] However, are mergers always economically justified? Do they not facilitate monopolization and centralization of production?
- [A. Wroblewski] This is indeed a present danger. The draft of a separate law, now in the Sejm, addresses counteracting monopolies. Likewise, the powers of the Council of Ministers in suspending decisions on merging and splitting enterprises have been addressed in recent controversial proposals for changes. This group of topics calls for further discussion and more specifics.
- [G. Stypulkowski] The "antimonopoly" organ, envisaged in the above draft, would block such a decision in cases when it reinforces the monopolistic position.
- [A. Wroblewski] Among other things, the proposed changes in economic laws referred to the powers of the Council of Ministers to grant or withhold consent both in cases of a merger or a split-up of the enterprise.
- [A. Zmuda] In other words, had the government had such powers, the highly controversial creation of a giant, an outright monopolist, the "Megat," would not have come about.

- [C. Stypulkowski] I do not know whether anybody at all can give a positive answer to this question, which, moreover, involves as event in the past. In any case, the "Megat" was formed with the consent of employee councils, which came out in favor of creating this enterprise unanimously, though for different reasons. At present, however, only the parent agency has the authority to merge and split enterprises.
- [A. Zmuda] Since we are on the topic of changes in economic laws, which have generated lately an involved and heated discussion, what do you think about the suggestion on the right of the director to suspend an employee council resolution if its consequences could bring about applying the insolvency law?
- [A. Wroblewski] Indeed, this proposal drew a lot of criticism. Those criticizing it feared that it would give excessive authority and freedom of actions to the director. It was forgotten that the law on self-government has respective provisions regulating the settlement of disputes between the employee council and the director. Therefore, unilateral action was out of the question. Likewise, the law on insolvency specifies precisely when a situation arises which requires its application. I referred to them in the beginning.
- It is a fact that all economic decisions entail certain risks. However, we also need clarity as to who made a given decision or did not counteract it being made. Is it the one who adopted the plan or the one who did not keep to it? It does happen that the buck is passed and blame is apportioned, but after the fact. At present, this is a theoretical consideration, because, as is known, this proposal for changes in the insolvency law has been abandoned.
- [A. Zmuda] Let me reflect on this: if in more than half the cases the reason for losing the creditworthiness by an enterprise is its indebtedness due to exceeding the norm of wage increments, than the dilemmas are hard indeed. Virtually no enterprise organ will oppose decisions bringing about a growth of wages, even if it does not follow from increased productivity or an increment in output. This would call for the ultimate degree of civic and economic responsibility.
- [A. Wroblewski] Exactly. The point is for an autonomous and self-governing enterprise, its management and self-government, to seek optimal arrangements together, taking into account the need for self-financing of development in the long run, rather than shirking responsibility as soon as the going gets tough.
- I am aware that all decisions in such cases are difficult and give rise to conflicts. Who wants to restrict the growth of wages of his own workforce or antagonize his own employee council? Can we afford a situation from which we might easily enter the state of the so-called internal proceedings? Then the bank and the parent agency begin to take interest in the enterprise; often a commissioner steps in...

The issue of who is going to be responsible for the economic situation of the enterprise is very important. After all, enterprises get into financial

straits due to certain decisions rather than some dispensation of providence. First, profit has to be made and distributed in a way such as to have enough for wages, development, social needs, and so on.

On the other hand, we cannot allow a situation where everybody is afraid to make a decision and would prevent each other from doing something.

Once again, I will refer to the current 5-year plan. Achieving these rates of growth, modest in the opinion of some, is out of the question if economic efficiency is not improved in all areas. Therefore, there can be no space for weak and sickly enterprises which will indefinitely use various preferences, assistance from the outside etc.

[A. Zmuda] However, we should also consider it in a broader context of economic analysis. After all, our extensive system of subsidies for raw materials, energy, and consumer goods distorts this analysis. To tell you the truth, we do not know very well who is working efficiently.

In your opinion, does the sword of Damocles hanging over the enterprises, in the form of the law on reorganizing management and insolvency, a sufficient incentive, or a "scarecrow" for improving the results?

- [L. Bogobowicz] It is certainly a strong incentive, because in itself bringing about a situation calling for reorganization is difficult and uncomfortable for an enterprise. After all, failure to take preventive measures results in the suspension of credit. Functioning without it is impossible. Management by a commissioner is the next stage of attempts to find a way out. If this fails to help, what remains is closing down the company, or bankruptcy.
- [C. Stypulkowski] I believe that the insolvency law has proven itself efficient and consequential, especially since changes in 1985 (when criteria for initiating internal proceedings were more precisely defined). It is true that a wider application of the law is lacking. I am a lawyer, but I believe that legal provisions cannot solve every problem. At times, law is made into a fetish, but it just will not automatically solve economic problems. Legal instruments will never change reality, especially economic, all by themselves. Efficiency depends on how economic coercion, resulting from the realities of life rather than from regulations, works throughout the economy.

Therefore, at issue is the efficient operation of the economy rather than only the efficient operation of the law.

The role of the bank is very great now. However, a lot depends on how it interprets the regulations in effect. In my opinion, if the bank rigorously demanded that loans be repaid, then we would have about 200 bankrupt enterprises overnight.

[L. Bogobowicz] If we consider the criteria of the law—and I believe they are correct—then certainly we do not have that many enterprises qualifying for bankruptcy. To my mind, the law ensures the desirable procedure and imposes certain discipline. After all, in many cases the reorganization plans make it possible to overcome the difficulties.

- Of course, the insolvency law is also "a scarecrow." However, it does bring results. In general, the approach by the bank is rigorous and not at all preferential. We do not even fear very strict moves against large enterprises, which are generally feared by all.
- [J. Gorski] Practice in this field is still too limited. We must learn how to do this and draw certain conclusions. In my opinion, a managing commissioner should deal with more than just the bank in preparing the action program.
- It should be evaluated at the very beginning by some objective commission consisting of representatives of the bank, the parent agency, the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs or even the Planning Commission. The implementation of a program adopted and endorsed by this group should be reviewed again after the managing commissioner has operated for a year or two.
- [G. Stypulkowski] However, as we have already said, nobody would give any funds to the enterprise for no reason!
- [J. Gorski] What I want to see is the parent agency being responsible for both organizing the extemporaneous aid and planning long-range and development strategy, which may be the main factor in getting out from "the bottom." On our part, we are still standing in place. We are trying to avoid difficulties, but we carry no clout. There are many more enterprises like ours in our country.
- [A. Zmuda] You are complaining here, but you have apparently made progress.
- [J. Gorski] I started with a loss of 250 million, whereas after 3 quarters we have already made over 360 million gross profit, of which a net profit of 18 million remains after various encumbrances.
- [C. Stypulkowski] On this occasion, we should mention the position of a managing commissioner. I think it is not as it should be. To my mind, their task is not quite clearly defined and their remuneration is too low, which has been frequently mentioned. These commissioners should have clearly outlined responsibilities and high pay. They should also be held accountable for the results on a regular basis, because so far hardly anybody apart from the bank takes interest in them.
- [A. Zmuda] From what I've heard, director Gorski has much more work in Marki than he used to at the FSO [Passenger Car Works], and, to make matters worse, ... less pay.
- [J. Gorski] However, what I want most is a substantive evaluation of what I am doing, help, and also goodwill from the outside.
- [A. Zmuda] On this note, let us close our meeting. It still turns out that, in general, waiting for a bankruptcy in our country continues to resemble waiting for Godot.

There was no great difference in opinion and controversy among us. It is indeed difficult for someone to oppose the use of economic coercion.

There are many ways to achieve economic efficiency in enterprises. Devices for this are primarily to be found in their domain.

Let me thank you for taking part in this roundtable discussion.

#### GLOWCZYK TOURS LODZ COTTON PLANT

AU161115 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Jan 87 p 3

[Report by Jan Kraszewski: "Technological Progress Is Our Chance"]

[Excerpts] Despite reduced power, the "Poltex" cotton plant in Lodz is operating normally. However, the reduced electricity supply means that some sections operate at night, when demand for electricity is less.

PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Jan Glowczyk arrives in the afternoon.

Speaking to female employees at their posts, J. Glowczyk says that he has not visited this plant for several months and asks about working conditions and the size of wages, as well as about the supply of basic foodstuffs. I do not hear every word because the noise of the machinery prevents normal conversation. Stanislawa Gajewska, who has worked here for 25 years, says that she earns Z22,000 to Z23,000 per month [below the national average], and says that "she can get by." "Is there any problem with buying milk and is it warm at home? One can get milk in the afternoon and I heat the apartment myself. I have coal because I thought of it in the summer."

Speaking at a meeting with the factory aktivs, J. Glowczyk discussed the economic situation, saying that in order to improve it we must rationalize and economize in all spheres of economic life. We can defend ourselves against rising prices mainly by means of increased market production. That is the prerequisite for entering the second stage of the reform, to which we all attach great hopes.

Economic affairs, J. Glowczyk said, are and must be the most important matter for the party, one that demands more energy from its members than it has so far.

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CSO: 2600/326

ECONOMY

## GOVERNMENT DECISION ON DAIRY PRICE INCREASE CONTROVERSY

LD072009 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 7 Jan 87

[Text] The Government Press Office reports that on 2 January in a number of voivodships producers supplied to the market certain milk products, including cream and poultry sausages [as heard], at significantly increased prices. In the opinion of the producers, they are justified in doing this by the exclusion of these articles in 1987 from the list of official and regulated prices, which are set directly or indirectly by government decisions. The method and form of the introduction of these increases did not meet the requirements specified in the regulations on price setting. They were also marked by bureaucratism and lack of preparation.

The chairman of the Council of Ministers, after receiving signals on this matter, including some from the OPZZ, has recommended the following: First, to ban the use of new prices in those voivodships because they are contrary to the regulations; the introduction of new negotiated prices must be preceded by appropriate negotiations between producers and traders; second, to ensure a moderate growth in prices in the future when negotiated prices are introduced for these products. At the same time the premier authorized the appropriate bodies to draw the organizational and cadres conclusions with regard to the persons responsible for the irregularities committed.

The gradual introduction of negotiated prices in place of regulated and official prices is one of the elements of the 1987 prices policy. This year starts the introduction of the second stage of the economic reform, assuming the strengthening of market equilibrium and the gradual reduction of budget subsidies. The maintenance of the purchasing power of the average wage and also of pensions at the level attained in 1986, which is the main social aim of the 1987 annual plan requires the disciplined and responsible shaping of not just official but especially of negotiated prices set directly in the enterprises. The negotiability of prices cannot be exploited. The government will not allow economic units to cover with increased prices the results of their own inefficiency and waste, or to increase prices without a thorough analysis of costs.

That is also why, in addition to the above decisions of the premier, the finance minister has ordered an inspection of the course and justifiability of the price increases introduced on 2 January. The government however expects from the managements of enterprises, work forces and self-managements of economic units more responsibility for the shaping of prices and a limitation of their growth, primarily by way of reducing the costs of trading organizations and of thorough negotiation of negotiated prices with producers.

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#### PHYSICAL TRAINING FOR MILITARY PILOTS EXAMINED

Bonn TRUPPENPRAXIS in German No 6, Nov/Dec 86 pp 568-571

[Article by J.J.: "Psychological-Physical Toughening for Aircraft Commanders in the Warsaw Pact"]

[Text] Military pilots in the air forces of all countries—be it in NATO, in the Warsaw Pact, in other military pacts, or in the Third World—must attain and maintain high psychological and physical resistance because of the great demands placed upon them. This article, which is based on Soviet and GDR sources, describes the intensity with which the Warsaw Pact air forces pursue psychological—physical training of their aircraft commanders. Parallels to the NATO air forces are clearly recognizable.

In the opinion of Colonel-General Reinhold, commander of the NVA [National People's Army] Air Forces and Air Defense, "the first, possibly surprise attack calls for an entire complex of qualities and skills, knowledge and ability." That includes above all "steady political-ethical properties, comprehensive military-technical knowledge and knowhow, outstanding physical and psychological qualifications, and a high level of tactical and aviation training." (1)

Physical toughening of flight personnel is extremely important during flight training and in the course of flight operations. Physical toughening is designed to attain and maintain physical and psychological strength because it alone—in combination with flying skills and tactical knowledge—ensures success in battle. This is why requirements are stiff early in the selection of future aircraft commanders. In the context of the overall evaluation of fitness and aptitude for flying, psychological suitability diagnosis became highly significant. The reason behind this was the, among other things, relatively high percentage (40 percent) of aircraft commanders who had been taken off flying status for psychological causes or whose ratings were downgraded. (2)

A Soviet aircraft commander and flight instructor, on the basis of his own experience and record, requires that the psychological readiness of a pilot be tested over and over again in the course of training because it is vital. He deplores the absence of a training manual or brief training instructions which could make it easier for every flight and squadron commander to prepare

his flight trainees psychologically for action and which could improve combat training. (3) He goes one step further: he suggests the introduction of a practical psychological exercise in the course of which flight surgeons, psychologists, flight instructors, and rated personnel on flying status should cooperate. Beyond that, his practical experience causes him to demand physical toughening as an important supplement to psychological preparation.

The requirements to be met by a (socialist) aircraft commander are not easy to meet. They include a solid political-moral attitude and strength of character. In the fight to defeat the enemy in the air, it is expected that the aircraft commander will be ready to risk his own life without hesitating. "Readiness to display courage, boldness, and resoluteness is something which the socialist aircraft commander draws from his communist ideology, from the awareness and the conviction that he is defending a just cause, out of love of his socialist homeland and on the basis of his international conviction." (2)

In evaluating all of these performance prerequisites, one must start with the idea that only a portion of these requirements will be fully developed in the aircraft commander at the start of operational flying. The majority of these required personality traits are perfected only through the military education process and direct duty performance on flying status or they will take shape in that process to begin with.

Psychological-physical conditioning is therefore an important component of the duty and training plan in the flying formations of the NVA. It is based on investigations and discoveries of aviation medicine. Raising the level of psychological-physical performance prerequisites in flight personnel is promoted by complex and year-round planning of health-education and medical-preventive measures as well as physical toughening. The conditional and coordinative capabilities are developed in the context of military physical toughening activities with the help of the special physical training of flight personnel. The conditioning of flight personnel is governed by the performance-medicine principles of performance sports; the goal of physical training on the other hand is the psychological-physical demand characteristic of the individual ways in which flying personnel are employed.

Training and testing supplement each other in the context of the conditioning effort. Training includes the following:

MKE (military physical toughening);

Conditioning training courses;

Sports and psychotherapy training courses in the Aviation Medicine Institute;

Sports for recreation and

treatment cures.

The following are carried out for the purpose of checking on results:

Standard tests in military physical toughening;

complex sports tests in the conditioning home;

psychomotor tests in the Aviation Medicine Institute;

self-tests during off-duty hours. (4)

Physical training (conditioning) in the Polish air forces is similar. It is carried out in the context of a uniform physical training complex which includes the following phases:

training at the Commissioned Officer College;

duty performance in the airborne formation; and

annual stay in the conditioning camp.

Each of these periods has different objectives and tasks. The annual cycle of the pilot assigned to a flying formation, for example, consists of two training periods which are interrupted by a 3-week stay in the conditioning camp and 1 month of leave. The interval between recreation and conditioning camp is at least 3 months and at most 5 months. This is necessary to stabilize the training results in long-range terms. The annual physical training program runs for 136 hours in the unit and 75 hours in the conditioning camp. The physical conditioning level declines with advancing age. It is the purpose of training to delay that process. (5)

In physical toughening for flying personnel of the NVA Air Forces, we distinguish general basic training and special air crew training. Both of these together form a unit in practical training. All training is administered according to a programmed training hours. The basic norm calls for at least 1 hour three times each week. Basic training is designed to develop the motion qualities of endurance, strength, and speed as well as the forms of elasticity, sustained strength, and sustained speed. These qualities form the basis of physical and psychological toughening.

The methods of performance sports are applied in general conditioning training. The development of sustained endurance by means of a marathon of up to 7 km, for example, is designed to strengthen the cardiovascular system; the idea is also to increase the resistance to fatigue phenomena. Training in mediumtime and short-time endurance over running distances of 1,000 m or less helps develop adaptation to psychological and physical performances in a situation of oxygen shortage. Endurance training plays a primary role in physical training.

Special qualities and skills, such as response capacity, sense of balance, and adjustment to the effects of acceleration, are practiced and developed in flight training as such. A whole series of special equipment, such as trampolin, the Rhoen wheel, rotor, the loop-swing, or the triplex. Special training also includes practice on the parallel bars and the horizontal bar, as well as ball games, such as volleyball, soccer, handball, and basketball, as well as gymnastic exercises.

Mastery of the loop-swing, fixed (rotations around the lateral body axis) and unfixed (additional rotations around the longitudinal body axis), is graded in specific time units according to the number of loops done. These exercises require constant training and good body control on the part of the aircraft commander.

Combined intensive and complex training is administered to develop complex performance patterns. A positive training result is achieved by virtue of the large number of different stations and the consequently constantly changing stress requirements. Regular performance tests evaluate the physical efficiency of aircraft commanders and thus make it easier to judge their fitness for flying.

In physical training however it is not important to achieve top performance results in a particular discipline or type of sport; instead, what is required is allaround good performance. (6)

The MKE (military physical toughening) officer is responsible in the NVA air wings for the physical performance capacity of aircraft commanders. He regularly attends the commander's conferences and is also present during the meetings of the flight methodology board. Here he periodically reports on the physical performance capacity of aircraft commanders. Insufficient physical performance capacity or failure to meet minimum requirements in sports test programs mean that the person involved is temporarily taken off flying status. Return to flying status is certified only if adequate physical performance capacity has been demonstrated. The MKE officer moreover is obligated to inspect the flight plan chart in order to determine who among the aircraft commanders scheduled for operational flights participated in physical training in the context of flight preparation. Failure to participate must be reported to the commander during the preflight briefing. This alone reveals what value is being assigned to physical toughening and the physical performance level of the individual aircraft commander. (7)

Corresponding to the 4-week conditioning camp of the Polish Air Forces, there is a conditioning training course for flight personnel of the NVA Air Forces (14 days per training year) with 6 hours of military physical toughening per day.

The toughening complex was implemented as a form of survival training during the 1981-1982 training year for the first time with flying personnel of the NVA Air Forces and Air Defense. The objective of this complex psychological-physical training and testing measure is, first of all, to enable flying personnel to accomplish combat missions and at the same time to prepare them for their actions after they were forced to parachute into unknown terrain and, second, to check on and increase their physical and psychological stress coping capability.

The toughness complex for survival training therefore contains realistic components in terms of actual wartime conditions, severe psychological-physical stresses, topographic-tactical requirements, as well as training in manual actions to maintain individual and team combat and action readiness.

Similar to the basic model of the toughness complex in the NVA, survival training assumes an important position in physical and special training for flight personnel. Physical performance capacity, tactical behavior, general military abilities and skills, as well as the political-moral state are tested in its course. Preparation for survival training is carried out throughout the year in a target-oriented manner. The following are taken into consideration here:

long-term political-ideological and moral preparation of flight personnel;

specifically target-oriented physical preparation, including training and practical actions as a part of general military training;

the target-oriented organization of cooperation of all sectors in the wing which are responsible for preparation and execution;

the selection and determination of the best date for practical implementation to ensure maximum possible personnel participation.

A control group is assembled--under the direction of the MKE officer--for practical implementation purposes. It summarizes all of the individual results, prepares the overall evaluation, and collects experiences.

All flight personnel, without restrictions as to age, participate in survival training.

The exercise starts with a real parachute jump. The area is unknown but the free choice of the march route is given in advance. The pilots act as Rangers or as part of a team. They carry their individual weapon and it is used for firing practice following severe physical stress. Survival training is carried out while wearing special clothing and the versatility complex must be mastered at the end of the orientation march. The flight surgeon decides as to the participation of flight personnel in survival training.

Mastering this training activity however requires each aircraft commander to display a high level of performance readiness, tactical comprehension, strict self-discipline, as well as allaround knowledge and skills in general military training. Tough and realistic conditions must be taken into consideration in the course of survival training when it comes to establishing the physical requirements. That includes a realistic illustration of the enemy and the use of imitation devices, making it more difficult to cover the distances required by changing the exact course during each training year, crossing water obstacles, going through survival training during various seasons and times of day, coordination with other training programs, such as, for example, air-sea rescue, and the like (in terms of content). (8)

# Survival Training (General Scheme)

Course:		Total Distance to be Covered
Station 1:	Drop-point in unknown terrain Start 2,000-m run	O km
Station 2:	Goal of 2,000-m run, topographic exercises Start terrain orientation march	2 km
Station 3:	Self-aid and buddy assistance	17 km
Station 4:	Marksmanship	21 km

21.5 km

Station 6: Hand-to-hand fighting

Station 5: Crossing terrain obstacles

Station 7: Emergency shelter

Station 8: Goal 22 km

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# COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW OF BLOC ELECTORAL SYSTEMS

Warsaw PANSTWO I PRAWO in Polish No 1, Jan 85 pp 14-29

[Article by Barbara Zawadzka, professor of Constitutional Law, Institute of State and Law, Polish Academy of Sciences: "Electoral Systems of the European Socialist Countries"]

# [Text] 1. Political Nature of Electoral Systems

In no socialist country elections are in the nature of a struggle of opposed political forces for power. The problem of power has been resolved by people's-democratic revolutions and subsequent political transformations and is not a subject of the electoral game. Hence the monolithic political nature of elections in all these countries: candidates for the (supreme and local) representative bodies of state power are nominated only by the political forces grounded in socialism, while to forces hostile to socialism this road is closed. This is an expression of dictatorship of the proletariat and a reflection of a situation in which the power of the working people may still be subject to attacks by hostile forces (as reminded by the Polish events in the early 1980's), if not those acting domestically then outside ones. This situation also dictates a strong emphasis on the plebiscitary element of socialist elections — the expression of voter support for the socialist system and for the state policy implementing this direction.

Representing a common basic political line — despite differences on particular issues, especially in the countries where several political parties exist (Poland, the GDR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia) — the subjects of politics (parties, trade unions, youth organizations and other mass political organizations) unite themselves and are jointly represented by broad national fronts in elections. This resembles the electoral alliances of affine political forces that occur throughout the world.

Organizations of the national front type, based on various organizational principles but on a similar political foundation, operate in every socialist country of Europe other than the USSR where the bloc of communists and nonparty members lacks any organizational form and is, properly speaking, only a political concept. They play a major role as organizers and spokesmen for the political platform of elections which usually exists in the form of the electoral program of the national front. Within the framework of the national

fronts, the parties and social organizations in the socialist countries offer a single common slate of candidates.

The fact that elections are held on the basis of only one common slate of candidates put forward by the parties and social organizations is crucial from the standpoint of the nature of the elections. It has its legal basis in the right of the political parties and social organizations, the "mass organizations of the working people," to nominate candidates. The electoral laws of Czechoslovakia /1/, Poland /2/, Romania /3/, Bulgaria /4/, and the GDR /5/ explicitly grant the right to nominate candidates solely to organs of the national front. In certain other countries the laws also authorize groups of voters to nominate candidates (the USSR /6/, Bulgaria, Hungary /7/). The right to question at pre-election meetings the candidacies announced by the national front is accepted in every socialist country (although the opinions of the meetings are not always legally binding).

In the event that a socialist system of society becomes unstable, the possibility of nominating candidates outside the formal political structures may be exploited to transform elections into a struggle for power. Hence, in political practice the electoral slates are closely controlled so as to prevent forces hostile to socialism from exploiting the legally defined possibilities for diversifying and broadening these slates; hence also, in countries where the law does not explicitly command it, the organizations empowered to nominate candidates also always offer a single common slate, and that is why in practice the legal possibilities for naming several candidates to an office are rarely utilized. Thus, the practical interpretation of the provisions of electoral laws tends in the direction of strengthening the monolithic political nature of elections and their attendant plebiscitary aspect.

Given the monolithic political nature of elections, their democratism does not consist in choosing among political parties and the programs they represent, unlike in the bourgeois-democratic countries. Instead, the democratism of socialist elections consists in that voters have a much greater influence on the choice of individuals who are to implement the socialist political program in representative bodies. In the socialist countries this kind of influence by voters is exercised during various stages of elections, starting with the nomination of candidates and ending with the selection of individuals through the act of voting. A special role here is played by the stage of nomination of candidates, which in the bourgeois-democratic countries is within the province of political parties, whereas in the socialist countries it involves considerable participation by the public.

Hence, in the socialist countries, there exists not only a plebiscitary element but also the expression of personal preferences by voters./8/ Voters guide themselves by the personal qualities of candidates and their links to the communities which they are to represent, and also by the particular political differences existing among individual candidates within the framework of the common program and common electoral slate. For example, candidates may be preferred by different groups of voters depending on whether they represent the communist party, the peasant party, or religious groupings, or are trade-union activists, or activists in youth organizations, but they

all represent the same political program and hence personal preferences by voters do not affect the political nature of the organs of power to which the candidates are elected.

Socialist elections also include the element of representation of local interests, which is particularly marked in elections to lower-level local councils, but is much less marked in elections of deputies to the parliament. But these deputies, too, are obligated, in accordance with the principles of socialist representation, to represent and express not only national interest but also the local interests of their voters. This element of elections influences the process of nomination of candidates for not only local councilmen but also parliamentary deputies, who often are local activists. Representation of local interests in elections is the greater the more the system of political decisions is decentralized.

The element of personal preference and the element of representation of local interests in elections are, however, both subordinated to the paramount plebiscitary aim. Although the electoral systems of the socialist countries are evolving toward a growing importance of the first two elements, the possibilities offered to the voters in this respect differ in different countries and different historical periods. This is also affected by differences in approaches to electoral laws in the different countries, as well as by their political practice.

Since the political nature of elections, as their fundamental element which affects particular solutions, is common to both elections to local councils and elections to the parliament, the electoral system in the socialist countries is monolithic to a far-reaching extent, and in most of these countries the same law applies to both types of elections. Properly speaking, separate decrees governing elections to local councils exist only in federated states (the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia /9/); they are republican decrees, whereas elections to Union parliaments are governed by Union legislation. Despite the existence of such separate local and parliamentary decrees, the approaches to electoral law in both cases do not differ in the USSR and Czechoslovakia. The system of elections to parliaments and to people's councils are parts of the monolithic electoral systems of the European socialist countries.

## 2. Genesis of the System

The electoral systems currently accepted in the socialist countries display a far-reaching similarity despite the differences in the roads by which these countries had reached them, the differing historical traditions and the differing "initial stage" of the formation of socialist statehood. In some countries there had existed traditions of parliamentary democracy and bourgeois-democratic elections (Poland, Czechoslovakia) which had to be taken into account in the process of forming a state with a different class nature; in others, the electoral system established following the seizure of people's power was, despite the constraints ensuing from the dictatorship of the proletariat, the most democractic ever in their history (Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania). However, these differences had influenced the nature of the electoral systems only during the initial stage following the people's-

democratic revolutions; once the socialist system of society had stabilized, the institutional solutions of these countries approached the Soviet model perpetuated in the Constitution of 1936./10/

The Soviet electoral system commenced its evolution by totally negating all parliamentary traditions (which had besides never taken root in pre-Revolutionary Russia) immediately after the Revolution. There were open elections of Soviets [councils] acting in close cooperation with working people in villages, districts, and cities, as well as direct elections of delegates to district, province, and national congresses of Soviets dealing with matters of broader importance. Once the socialist system of society attained a relative stabilization, its institutional forms were brought closer to the parliamentary tradition, as reflected in the Constitution of 1936./11/ The electoral system based on that Constitution was linked to the greatest accomplishment of bourgeois parliamentarianism: the democratic principles of elections, for which popular and revolutionary movements had been struggling for more than 100 years, i.e., the principles of universal, direct, and equal suffrage and secret balloting. The electoral law introduced in the USSR on the basis of the Constitution of 1936 /12/ provided for all these principles (proportionality was not considered, given the one-party system). The premise of equal suffrage was best promoted by the local electoral districts with, insofar as possible, equal numbers of inhabitants; it is in such districts that elections in the USSR have been taking place since the Constitution of 1936 (although in recent years, in the USSR as well as in other socialist countries, ways of turning factory workforces into political bodies have been explored).

It is no simple matter to decide whether the utilization by the Soviet electoral system of the principles of bourgeois parliamentary democracy, which are its greatest accomplishment, has made that system more democratic. The Yugoslav doctrine takes a contrary position. Some Yugoslav authors state that the abandonment of the principle of nomination of political representatives by factory workforces in favor of the introduction of formal bourgeois equal suffrage and directness of elections ("general territorial right to vote") is a step backward and has contributed to bureaucratizing and formalizing elections./13/ It is difficult to accept this assessment, especially considering the criticisms, recently appearing in Yugoslavia, of the current electoral system on the grounds that it minimizes the influence of citizens on the selection of political representatives owing to the excessive directness of elections./14/ It cannot be denied either that the abolition of restraints on universality of electoral law and the introduction of secret balloting have been factors democratizing the electoral process. As for the shortcomings of Soviet electoral practice in the period following the adoption of the Constitution of 1936, they were due to much more complex and rather extralegal factors.

On the basis of the Constitution of 1936 there arose in the USSR institutions of electoral law and electoral practice that still exist in the socialist electoral system: the conferral of the right to nominate candidates on the party and mass social organizations, and also the practice of nominating only one candidate in single-mandate electoral districts despite the legal possibility of nominating more than one candidate, that is, the marked

domination of the plebiscitary element of elections. The practical shape of the electoral system has undoubtedly been influenced by the political realities of the 1930's, both international and domestic ones.

The electoral system evolved in Soviet practice on the basis of the Constitution of 1936 has become a model for the countries that entered upon the socialist road of development following World War II. But while in the early 1950's emulation of the Soviet model by the electoral systems of these countries, regardless of their previous national specificities, had predominated, since the 1960's a process of differentiation has been under way, even though it has adhered to the framework of a monolithic socialist political nature of elections and similarity of basic solutions. This differentiation consists primarily in the smaller or greater role of personal and local voter preferences in elections. There also have arisen solutions reflecting the use of the system of elections to local councils as a way of expressing the particular interests of various social groups existing within the framework of the socialist system of society and not conflicting with the political nature of the elections. Even so, common solutions predominate qualitatively over particular solutions.

# 3. Constitutional Principles of Electoral Law

All the socialist constitutions explicitly define the political nature of the state and at the same time outline the basic principles of the electoral law that are decisive to a politically monolithic nature of elections. At the same time also, these constitutions introduce the classical democratic principles of elections — universality, equality, and directness of suffrage as well as secret balloting. The Hungarian Constitution applies these principles to elections to the parliament as well as to county and municipal councils, specifying that district councils are directly elected by secret balloting — by members of basic—level councils. This solution, exceptional within the group of the countries discussed, is intended to develop district councils as a forum for representing the interests of counties and cities. In practice, however, it has so far exercised this role only to a small extent./15/

All the socialist constitutions accept the principle of responsibility of the elected representative to the voters. This is a fundamental principle of the socialist electoral law.

#### 4. Electoral Districts

In all the countries considered elections are based exclusively on territorial electoral districts./16/ These districts vary in size, being either single- or multiple-mandate, depending on the country. Multiple-mandate districts exist in Poland and the GDR. In Czechoslovakia the system is mixed: multiple-mandate districts are formed in elections to the councils of the smallest counties, with fewer than 3,000 inhabitants (a single electoral district for electing the entire council, consisting of members from such small counties, may be formed). Deputies to higher-level councils, National Councils of the republics, and the Federal Assembly are elected in single-mandate districts. In the other countries only single-mandate districts exist.

There seems to exist a correlation between the nature of electoral districts and the party system: in Poland and the GDR several political parties are active. Multiple-mandate districts serve to present to each voter a complete gamut of the political forces organized in the parties. To be sure, this correlation is not complete: in Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, where also more than one party is active, elections take place in single-mandate districts.

Despite the universality of the territorial principle of organizing elections, attempts to link candidates to enterprises also are being undertaken, in the USSR and the GDR. In the GDR this is expressed in the legal requirement that the candidate be evaluated by the collective in which he works (Paragraph 17 of Electoral Decree). In the USSR enterprise workforces are among bodies empowered by the Constitution to nominate candidates. The links between the candidate and his work collective as a community of voters during the electoral campaign are maintained with that community throughout his term of office, although quite often it is not the community that had elected him personally (if he was elected in a domicile that was not territorially identical with his workplace). This represents explorations of ways of having representative bodies express not only local interests but also production-related interests.

#### 5. Voter Lists

In every socialist country voter lists are officially prepared by the local administration; citizens are relieved of the effort to have their names placed on the list. This is of basic importance to assuring universality of suffrage. In Hungary there exists the mandatory duty of notifying the voters that their names are included in the lists so that they may report on any inaccuracies. In Poland voters are encouraged to verify the accuracy of the lists.

In all these countries, persons who happen to be outside their permanent domicile on election day are enabled to vote at sites of their temporary sojourn on the basis of certificates of the right to vote. This possibility has been somewhat restricted in the Polish electoral regulations of 1984. One exception is Hungary, where voters sojourning outside their place of domicile on election day may vote only for the national list of candidates to the parliament and cannot vote for deputies from electoral districts and councilmen. This restriction is justified and serves to promote the strong emphasis of the Hungarian doctrine on the representation of local interests by representatives of electoral districts, especially in local councils. Voting on the basis of a certificate in the place of one's temporary residence, a residence that is often fortuitous and short-lasting, is particularly controversial so far as local councils are concerned; since the purpose of the local council is to represent the population in the system of power, persons who are not permanent residents of the particular area should not participate in elections to that body. This is especially glaringly demonstrated by instances in which temporary visitors may predominate over the local population. The preservation of the custom of right-to-vote certificates in elections to people's councils is attributable only to the predomination of the plebiscitary function of these elections over the function of the election

of representatives acceptable to the local population as representing its interests. In elections to the parliament the situation is more complicated.

#### 6. Electoral Commissions

With the object of directing the organization of elections, supervising their lawful course, examining complaints about the activities of electoral organs, registering candidates, and conducting the election and determining its results, public electoral commissions are appointed in all the countries considered.

In Hungary and the GDR two kinds of electoral bodies are appointed. In the GDR, electoral commissions — a national one plus territorial commissions — and electoral boards ("Wahlvoerstande") in polling districts are appointed. The purpose of the latter is to conduct the elections and determine their results, while all the other functions are exercised by the electoral commissions. In Hungary, electoral presidiums at the national and local levels are appointed to direct, supervise, etc., the elections, while electoral commissions are appointed in polling districts to conduct elections and determine their results. The electoral commissions are appointed by the same procedure as the presidiums.

The term of office of the Hungarian electoral presidiums is the same as the term of office of representative bodies; the mandate of a commission member may be withdrawn by the same procedure as that followed in appointing him. This is a major element in social control over electoral bodies. In the event that a member's mandate expires, a new member is appointed to the presidium. The reason for the prolonged maintenance of the term of office of these bodies is to enable them to become active in the event of replacement elections or necessity of instituting proceedings to recall a representative. A permanently acting electoral body can implement the recall provisions.

Electoral commissions and analogous but otherwise called bodies serve to place the organization of elections in the hands of individuals who enjoy public trust, and they represent a form of social control over the course of the elections. That is why their membership and the appointment procedure are a highly important matter.

The right to nominate candidates for members of electoral bodies belongs to the same organizations that have the right to nominate candidates for councilmen: organs of the national front (Hungary), parties and social organizations (Czechoslovakia) and in the USSR moreover enterprise workforces. The members are approved by the executive committees of the councils. As a rule, electoral laws prohibit members of electoral bodies from being candidates for deputies or councilmen. In Hungary, where two kinds of electoral bodies are appointed, the prohibition applies to both. In Poland it does not apply to electoral collegiums — a unique domestic institution not encountered in the other socialist countries. The prohibition against combining the roles of candidate for office and member of an electoral body is justified, as it precludes suspicion of any tendentious action in electoral bodies by members who might otherwise also be candidates for elected offices,

and it also meets the democratic norms adopted in the life of political and social organizations.

From the standpoint of this role of electoral commissions, an important aspect is the deposition of an oath, provided for by Hungarian law, before the council chairman by members of the electoral body. But it is Soviet regulatiosn that most explicitly prescribe the role of electoral commissions as bodies justifying public trust. Both the chairmen and members of electoral commissions may be relieved of their duties not only upon own request but also upon the recommendation of the organization, workforce, etc., that had nominated them (in the same way as members of Hungarian electoral commissions); a new candidate is appointed to the vacant post by the same procedure. The regulations establish the principle of openness of the work of electoral commissions, which are obligated to inform the public about their sessions, resolutions, and other steps taken; representatives of the mass media have access to their sessions. Such a procedure for the appointment of members and the work of the commissions as well as for social control over their activities can markedly contribute to convincing the public of the trustworthiness of elections.

### 7. Nominating Candidates

of importance to democratism of elections are all the provisions of the electoral law, including procedural rules, and the whole of electoral practices. However, in elections based on a single common slate of candidates the procedure for nominating candidates is of decisive importance to their democratism. If the electoral law provides for, and the political practice applies, broad social participation in the nomination of candidates and a strong influence of the public on the composition of the electoral slate, this signifies that voters exercise genuine influence on the composition of a representative body already at this initial stage of electoral proceedings. At that stage, in socialist electoral systems the possibilities of voters for expressing their personal and local preferences are greater than during the voting act itself.

Electoral laws in the countries considered grant the right to nominate candidates for councils to political parties and mass social organizations (such as chiefly trade unions and youth and cooperative organizations). These organizations may nominate candidates on their own behalf or jointly, within the framework of the national front. The Romanian electoral law names the Front of Socialist Unity as the sole body authorized to nominate candidates. In the USSR there is no such single body of this kind authorized to nominate candidates.

As for the legal possibilities for the influence of informal voter groups on the composition of electoral slates, they differ in different countries. Most often the platform for exerting such influence is pre-election meetings. In each country, voters have the right to discuss and evaluate at these meetings the candidates nominated by parties, organizations, or national fronts (see, e.g., the GDR decree). The electoral laws of the countries considered view social consultation and evaluation of the candidates nominated by parties and social organizations as a legal prerequisite for registering these candidates.

The social consultation may result in withdrawal of the candidacy put forward by an authorized organization. However, it is not in every country considered that electoral laws specify the formal criteria and form in which support is to be granted to a candidate by a pre-election meeting.

Adherence to the regulations governing the procedure for nominating a candidate is verified by the electoral body registering him. However, the activities of that body are only of a formal-legal nature. That is why, from the standpoint of the influence of informal voter groups on the composition of the electoral slate, an important factor is whether consideration of the opinions of pre-election meetings is a legal obligation or merely a question of practical politics.

In the USSR and Hungary the possibilities of voters acting outside formal political structures for influencing the nomination of candidates are the greatest. There, the right to nominate candidates belongs to not only parties, organizations, and the national front, but also to factory workforces or groups of citizens that do not constitute a formal organization. Candidates may be nominated by not only the appropriate bodies of the party (the USSR), the Patriotic Popular Front (Hungary), or social organizations, but also by enterprise workforces and cooperative memberships, as well as by any citizen attending a [pre-election] meeting. Regardless of the identity of the entity nominating a candidate, he is formally nominated on the basis of the results of open voting (in Hungary, one-third of those present at the meeting is the required minimum and in the USSR, a majority).

With the object of assuring an adequate proportion of central-level activists among members of the parliament without infringing upon the sovereignty of voters, who in general are more disposed toward nominating local activists as candidates, the new Hungarian electoral law (as of December 1983) has introduced the so-called national slate in elections to the parliament. That slate is uniform for the country as a whole, and it accounts for up to 10 percent of the deputies (i.e., about 40 persons); the candidates are nominated by the National Council of the Patriotic Popular Front. As ensues from that law, the candidates thus nominated are not subject to public consultation. No such institution exists so far as elections to local councils are concerned.

In Bulgaria the right to nominate candidates belongs to, in addition to the formal political structures, one-fifth of voters in a given electoral district. The candidates thus nominated are evaluated in the same way as any other candidates at pre-election meetings and are subject to the same rules for registration.

### 6. The Number of Candidates and the Number of Mandates

Of paramount importance to enhancing the qualitative weight of personal and local preferences as a factor in elections is the naming of more candidates on electoral slates than there are mandates to be elected to. It should be stated that in no socialist country does electoral law restrict the number of candidates to the number of mandates available. On the contrary, provisions of electoral laws explicitly refer to the possibility of nominating more than one candidate for an electoral district (outside the GDR and Poland this

refers to single-mandate districts). The Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Soviet, and Romanian electoral laws obligate electoral commissions to register all candidates nominated in a legally valid manner. The Hungarian law goes even farther by providing for the duty of nominating at least two candidates for any electoral district. If a pre-election meeting does not result in the nomination of two candidates who are subsequently registered by electoral bodies, the meeting should be reconvened within 7 days.

The Soviet electoral law has created an interesting institution of guarantees for the candidate by providing that all registered candidates have equal right to participate in pre-election meetings and are entitled to equal access to the mass media, work release with the object of participating in the pre-election campaign, and other forms of assistance by government and social bodies. These provisions afford the necessary legal guarantees enabling several candidates to compete for one mandate.

But practice does not conform with these legal provisions. In Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, and the USSR there has not occurred so far any instance of nomination of more than one candidate for an electoral district (although in Czechoslovakia, in elections to rural county councils, there are more candidates than mandates in an electoral district). The candidates are broadly discussed by the bodies nominating them; the selection of the candidate, who is next officially registered, is often based on democratic discussion and even voting ^(the USSR, Hungary). But [even] the most democratic procedure for selecting the "official" candidate from among several nominated ones does not detract from the general public's possibility of voting on the basis of personal or local preferences.

Some experience in elections in which the number of candidates is greater than the number of mandates is afforded by the practice in Hungary and Romania, for in both these countries this practice was initiated in the 1970's and is being continued, in which connection the new electoral law in Hungary is propagating it. In Romania the purpose of introducing this practice was -- as we read in the party program for 1974, "to provide citizens with the possibility of electing those individuals who display the greatest competence, initiative, energy, enthusiasm, managerial ability, and tenacity and a sense of responsibility in implementing party policy." By contrast with Hungary, where the principal reason for nominating a greater number of candidates is to enable differentiated social interests to express themselves /17/, in Romania emphasis is placed on personal selection of the candidate whose personal traits are most highly valued by voters. This also is an important voting criterion which should be left to the voters to decide. As Press reports indicate, in the 1974 elections more than one candidate came forward in 28 percent of the electoral districts of the Great National Assembly and 77 percent of the electoral districts of councils./18/ In the 1980 elections more than 123,000 candidates had been nominated for nearly 62,000 electoral districts for local councils; in 78 percent of the districts two candidates per district were nominated and in 10 percent, three per district. For the 360 electoral districts of the Great National Assembly 598 candidates were nominated, of whom two candidates per district in 41 percent of the districts and three candidates per district in 10.5 percent./19/.

The Hungarian experience of the 1970's indicates that nominating a greater number of candidates creates -- in particular for the system of single-mandate districts -- many new problems, and especially the problem of reconciling the spontaneous nomination of candidates by citizens with the requirements of social representativeness of the bodies they are elected to. The concern for preserving the requirements of such representativeness has during a certain period prompted political decisionmakers to nominate for the same electoral district two candidates who were like identical twins so far as social representativeness was concerned, which impled curtailing the spontaneity of nomination of candidates by citizens -- and by the same token it implied curtailiing the democratism of a solution that had been introduced precisely in the name of democratism. The need to allow for preferences ensuing from the requirement of the social representativeness of the membership of a representative body discouraged the voters from nominating a greater number of candidates, so that they utilized this possibility only to a small extent. Sufficient experience has not as yet been gained in the operation of the Hungarian decree of December 1983 that stipulates the obligation of nominating at least two candidates for any electoral district./20/ As for candidates for the national slate, they are nominated in a number equal to the number of deputies to be elected from that slate.

The experience of the GDR is not as instructive, for there all the candidates figuring on the electoral slate are regarded as having been elected; in this connection, the extra candidates (representing the "surplus" over the number of mandates) do not win a mandate immediately after the elections but become standby or deputy councilmen ("Nachfolgekandidaten"). They participate in the activities of councils without having the right to vote, and they also work in the electoral district just like the full councilmen. They may be given the mandate if it becomes vacant during the term of office. In such a situation, placing on the electoral slate a greater number of candidates than there are mandates practically does not affect the domination of the plebiscitary element of elections.

This experience indicates that the problem of leaving to the voter a choice among several candidates representing the same political program but displaying differing personal and social traits, and perhaps also representing differing specific local interests, has not yet been satisfactorily solved in the electoral practices of the countries considered.

### 9. Voting Procedure

Secrecy of balloting is among the factors decisive to enabling the voter to express freely not only his attitude to the political program but also his personal and local preferences. This secrecy has been accepted as a general principle of electoral law in all the countries considered. But, as experience shows, the legal prescription of not only the possibility but also the obligatory necessity of secret balloting is of major importance. For not all the electoral laws in the countries considered deem secret balloting obligatory. The Polish and Czechoslovak laws confine themselves to mentioning secrecy of alloting among general principles of electoral law; in the chapters regulating the voting procedure they do not refer to this matter. GDR law refers to the right (but not the obligation) of the voter to avail himself of

a poll booth. From the Bulgarian, Hungarian, Romanian, and USSR laws it ensues that filling out a ballot in a booth is part of normal voting procedure. For example, Soviet law declares that the voter fills out his ballot in a booth or specially assigned premises. The laws of the other countries contain similar formulations.

The absence of procedural safeguards of secrecy of balloting makes possible "ostensible secret balloting," known from Polish practice, which does not satisfy the spirit of the principle of secrecy of balloting. In addition, the voters may feel apprehensive that by availing themselves of the possible but not mandatory and not recommended secrecy of balloting they might be liable to some personal repercussions. Such apprehensions, even if not objectively justified, do not promote the free expression of opinion by the voter, that is, they do not promote democratic elections.

Polish practice points to an absence of correlation between the utilization of the right to secrecy of balloting and the actual number of votes opposing the FJN [Front of National Unity] slate./21/ The experience of the countries in which secret balloting is obligatory and the support of the electoral platform of the national front no less general than in the Polish elections of the 1960's and 1970's, confirms the absence of this correlation.

Another factor influencing greatly the voting procedure is the obligatory nature of the expression of preference by the voter, that is, the requirement of active voting. This concerns the voter's duty of clearly marking the names of the persons for whom he votes, on peril of otherwise having his vote invalidated. Opposed to this is passive voting, where the regulations acknowledge the validity of ballots on which voters do not clearly mark their preferences, even in cases in which the ballots name more candidates than there are mandates in a given electoral district (Poland, Romania /22/). If the ballot card on which the voter does not mark his preferences is valid, as in Polish and Romanian practice, this greatly minimizes the importance of naming a greater number of candidates on the card.

The obligation to clearly mark the name of the preferred candidate on a ballot card containing more than one name, under the penalty of otherwise invalidating the ballot, has in practice been introduced in Hungary as early as in 1971. Hungary is the only country in which coexist three solutions indispensable to the free expression of personal and local preferences by voters: more candidates than mandates on the electoral slate, obligatory secrecy of balloting, and obligatory active voting. The first and third requirements do not apply to the national slate for the parliament, which contains only as many candidates as there are deputies to be elected from it; voters mark their ballots to confirm that slate. But it comprises only 10 percent of the deputies to the parliament and has been established with the object of assuring complete authenticity of the process of nominating candidates in the electoral districts.

The Hungarian experience indicates that this system has proved itself. In the 1971 elections invalid votes accounted for only 1.04 percent, and nearly 99 percent of the valid votes were in favor of Patriotic Front candidates.

Neither has any marked differentiation of votes been observed./23/ The new electoral law retains the obligation of active voting.

10. Simultaneity and Separateness of Elections to Local Councils and to Parliaments

The uniformity of systems of elections to local councils and parliaments makes it possible to organize joint elections to these bodies. In the socialist countries this possibility is broadly utilized, but there is no uniform practice or explicit principle in this respect. Thus for example in Bulgaria there are joint elections of deputies to the People's Assembly, people's councils, and judges and jurymen. In Romania, where the term of office of the Great National Assembly is 5 years and that of councils 2 years and 6 months, there are joint elections every 5 years and separate elections to councils every 2 years and 6 months. A similar situation exists in the USSR. In the GDR there are joint elections once every 5 years to the People's Chamber and district councils, and separate elections to city, rural-district, and county councils. In Czechoslovakia adherence to the rights of both republics as organizers of elections to councils predetermines their separate organization. But this is not a fundamental issue, as demonstrated by the example of Poland and Hungary where the practice has been different. In this connection, it is particularly interesting that the abandonment in 1974 of joint elections in Hungary (despite the identical terms of office of the parliament and the councils) was attributed to the same reasons as was the transition in Poland several years previously to joint elections: the need to "enrich the meaning of the electoral campaign," which in Hungary was interpreted as the need to highlight local problems in elections to councils and national problems in elections to the parliament, and in Poland, contrariwise, as the need to relate local to general problems./24/ This history, as well as the subsequent history of the unity and separateness of elections to the parliament and councils in both countries, indicates that this issue, even if it is of some importance on its merit /25/, has so far been treated purely instrumentally, in terms of greater or smaller organizational suitability. It has no major influence on the political nature of the elections.

### 11. Recalling an Incumbent

The right of voters to recall an incumbent is a basic principle of socialist representation. It is included in all the socialist constitutions as a basic principle of the socialist system of society./26/ This principle is more precisely defined in electoral laws, which interpret it variously.

Above all, it should be borne in mind that the recall of incumbents by voters it not everywhere construed literally. In Bulgaria since 1971 (when the new constitution was adopted), in Romania since 1974, and in the GDR throughout its history, recall is defined as depriving the incumbent of his mandate by means of a resolution of the representative body./27/ But the participation of voters in the recall proceedings varies in each of these countries.

The Romanian electoral law specifies that the right to recommend the recall belongs to the Front of Socialist Unity, "which implements it on its own initiative or upon the demand of the organizations belonging to it, or upon

the demand of voters declared at meetings of voters in a given electoral district." Regardless of the identity of the initiator of the recall, the appropriate FSU council presents the recall recommendation for discussion to meetings of voters in the concerned electoral district. Depending on the size of the district, one or several such meetings are held. The participants in the meeting comment or vote for or against the recall. But the law does not define any formal requirements as to attendance at meetings, voter lists, etc. The minutes of the meeting and the results of the vote are presented by the Front council to the appropriate representative body which then decides on the recall. The law does not say whether the opinion of the majority vote at the meetings is binding. The voters thus rather play a consultative role in these proceedings. But what matters is that the voters are not totally eliminated from the recall proceedings; even if they do not initiate the recall, their opinion is needed, at any rate.

On the other hand, the total elimination of voters from recall proceedings is possible (alternatively) in the GDR, where the recall recommendation may be made not only by voters but also, and with the same legal effect, by the party or organization that had nominated the incumbent. This solution, which reflects the strong relationship between the incumbent and the party, characteristic of the GDR /28/, departs markedly from the principle of recall by voters. But voters too may make a recall recommendation in cooperation with the appropriate committee of the National Front. The law does not define the attendant procedure. The recall decision itself is taken by the representative body.

In Hungary parliamentary deputies elected from the national slate are recalled by the parliament upon the recommendation of the National Patriotic Council of the Popular Front. In view of both the procedure for nominating candidates for that slate and recalling the incumbents elected from it, the response of the representative body there differs from that mandatory for the election of the other representatives.

The procedures for recall by voters in the other countries reduce to two principal types: "the reversing act" of elections, retaining the entire electoral procedure (Bulgaria since 1971, Poland since 1972, Hungary since 1983), or a simplified procedure consisting in minor modifications, in holding open meetings in the electoral district, in open voting. The regulations are in general imprecise but differentiated./29/

The Soviet law on the recall introduces certain procedural conditions. It provides for appointing in an electoral district a commission consisting of representatives of political and social organizations and workforces with the object of supervising the adherence of the recall vote to the regulations and determining its results. At each meeting of voters called together for the purpose of recall, minutes specifying the number of those present and the results of the vote are recorded. The incumbent is considered as recalled if a majority of voters in a given district votes for the recall. But the law does not specify the procedure for verifying whether all the participants in the meetings are voters from the concerned electoral district.

Regardless, however, of the approach and degree of preciseness of the regulations, in practice the recall is almost never employed, except in the USSR, where this institution does function, though, naturally, it is not utilized on any large scale. Since the recall decree had been promulgated (in 1959) until the end of 1978, i.e., over 19 years, a total of 6,000 members of local Soviets, 120 members of Supreme Soviets of the republics, and 12 members of the USSR Supreme Soviet were recalled./30/ In the years 1980 and 1981 altogether 335 and 205 members, respectively, of local Soviets were recalled; about one-half of that number were incumbents in rural Soviets./31/

In comparison with the overall total of more than 2,200,000 members of local Soviets, these figures are small, which is natural: the recall should be an institution resorted to in exceptional cases. But they testify to the vitality of this institution in the USSR, especially when compared with the brief (2 and 1/2 years) term of office of the local Soviets. It appears that the importance of the recall as an institution consists not so much, and not only, in its application, which in the presence of political stability cannot be frequent, as in its very existence within the legal system of the socialist countries. For this determines the criteria and plane for evaluating the performance of members of elected bodies.

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The electoral systems of the European socialist countries display (with the exception of Yugoslavia) common basic principles and solutions. But within the framework of that commonalty there exist diversified and specific solutions ensuing from the differences in conditions and traditions, and also from some differences in views of the role, significance, and mutual relations among the fundamental elements of socialist elections: the plebiscitary, personal, and local elements. The experience gained in applying these varied solutions should be considered when shaping the futher evolution of electoral law in Poland.

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- 2. "Regulations Governing Elections to People's Councils," DZIENNIK USTAW, Item 32, No 8, 1984.
- 3. BO, No 161, 1974. See also Article 25 of the Romanian Constitution.
- 4. "Izbiratel'nyy zakon," DV, No 54, 1973; revised and amended in DV Nos 61 and 88, 1973, and No 22, 1976.

- 5. "Gesetz ueber die Wahlen zu den Volksvertretungen der DDR. Wahlgesetz," GBI, I, No 22, 1976.
- 6. Cf. Article 100 of the USSR Constitution and "The USSR Law on Elections to the USSR Supreme Soviet," VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, No 20, 1978; republic electoral decrees correspond to the solutions adopted in that Union decree.
- 7. "Decree No 3 on Elections of Deputies and Councilmen," MK, No 69, 1983.
- 8. For broader discussion of the relationship between the plebiscitary element and personal preferences in elections see B. Zawadzka, "Przedstawicielstwo w panstwie socjalistycznym" [Representation in the Socialist State], Wroclaw, 1976, pp 130-140.
- 9. I exclude Yugoslavia from further discussion of solutions, because the electoral system of that country is quite different (owing to the difference in principles for forming representative bodies) and would require a separate discussion. On the Yugoslav electoral system see B. Zawadzka, "Model przedstawicielstwa socjalistycznego. Studium porownawcze z teorii reprezentacji" [A Model of Socialist Representation. A Comparative Study of Representation Theory], Wroclaw, 1980, pp 321-326.
- 10. Ibid., pp 82, 108, where I develop this aspect further.
- 11. Ibid., pp 93-96, for a more extensive discussion.
- 12. "Polozheniye o vyborakh," SZ SSSR, No 43, 1937.
- 13. M. Matic, "Politicko predstavljanje", Belgrade, 1974, pp 212-217.
- 14. Tanjug Press Agency Communique of end of October 1984.
- 15. "Democratism of the Representative and Electoral Systems," TARSADAIMI SZEMIE, No 7, 1970. See also B. Zwadzka, "Model," op.cit., p 290.
- 16. The only exception from the territorial principle of electoral organization for the group of countries considered (since the introduction of the USSR Constitution of 1936) was the Polish industrial districts formed in the elections to municipal, borough, and county councils in 1958 for workforces at large enterprises in addition to territorial districts for the remaining citizens. But that is a discontinued practice that has not even been assessed.
- 17. See "Democratism," op. cit., and Zawadzka, "Model," op. cit., pp 282-286.
- 18. See ZYCIE WARSZAWY of 10 March 1975.
- 19. RUMYNIJA, No 2, 1980.
- 20. The first elections based on this law will be held at the end of 1985.

- 21. A. Patrzalek, "Certain Institutions of Polish Electoral Iaw in the Light of the Practice of 1965 Elections," PROBLEMY RAD NARODOWYCH, No 7, 1966, p 89; by the same author, "Some Problems of Iaw and Electoral Practice at Basic-Level People's Councils in 1978," PROBLEMY RAD NARODOWYCH, No 53, pp 123-125, 1979.
- 22. Article 71 of the Romanian electoral decree states: "If the voter does not cross out the names of all the candidates on the ballot, he is considered to have voted for the candidate for whom the majority in the given district have voted."
- 23. Districts in which no candidate gains an absolute majority of votes and in which elections have to be repeated accounted in 1971 for barely 2.6 percent of the districts in which more than one candidate were nominated.
- 24. For more detail see Zawadzka, "Representation," op. cit., pp 123-124.
- 25. The expected differentiation in the nature of the two electoral campaigns in Hungary did not take place. The electoral campaign to the parliament was, like the elections to the councils, dominated by local issues, see Zawadzka, "Model," op. cit., p 291.
- 26. Recall provisions are contained in the electoral law of all the countries discussed except the USSR where the recall is regulated by a separate decree on the procedure for recalling deputies to the USSR Supreme Soviet (for actual text of the decree see VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA, No 17, 1979), and by its counterpart republic decrees, modeled on it.
- 27. In Bulgarian doctrine recall by a representative body and recall by voters are considered identical, although the legal situation has changed. See S. Stoichev, "Izbiratela sistema na Narodna republika Bulgaria" [The Electoral System of the Bulgarian People's Republic], Sofia, 1977, p 161.
- 28. See Zawadzka, Model, "op. cit., pp 229-231.
- 29. The differences pertain to requirements as to the number of meetings, the quorum, etc.
- 30. A. Lukyanov, "Razvitiye zakonodatel'stva o sovetskikh predstavitel'nykh organakh vlasti" [The Development of Legislation on Soviet Representative Governing Bodies], Moscow, 1978, p 185.
- 31. "Some Data Characterizing the Organizational Work of the Local Soviets of People's Deputies in 1980," SOVETY NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV, 1981, No 5, 1981, and similar articles in issue No 5, 1982, of that periodical.

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### ALIA SPEAKS AT CONFERENCE ON LIVESTOCK

AU251631 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 20 Jan 87 pp 1-3

[Speech by Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary, delivered at the National Conference for the Further Development of Livestock Raising, held at Tirana on 19 January 1987: "The Performance of the Tasks Set by the Party in Livestock Raising Demands Exceptional Mobilization and Care From Everybody"]

#### [Text] Dear Comrades!

The proceedings of this conference are a powerful incentive to implement the directives of the Ninth Party Congress for the vigorous development of livestock raising in the Eighth Five-Year period and beyond. On this occasion, I bring warmest greetings to you, comrades, in the name of the Central Committee, and through you to all the herdsmen and working people in agriculture in our country.

Livestock raising constitutes one of the principal areas of the economy, in both its ties to the fulfillment of the needs of the people with milk, meat, and other products, and as regards the implementation of party policy for intensifying agriculture. For this reason the Ninth Party Congress stressed the need for the priority development of this sector, and at a fast pace.

Fulfilling this task demands exceptional mobilization from party and state organs, from all working people and specialists in agriculture, and in other sectors of the economy connected with it.

Reports and discussions, opinions given, and concrete measures recommended for the smooth development of livestock raising must stimulate the activity of the central authorities concerned with agriculture, as well as all the work in the districts and especially in the cooperatives, in the agricultural enterprises and scientific research institutes. But there is also the need for us all to realize clearly that the problems to be solved are manifold, and not simple, and that they cannot be eliminated by a broad analysis such as we are making in this conference.

Party policy has always aimed, in accordance with the needs of the people and the economy, to establish harmony between farming and livestock raising, to place animal husbandry on a scientific basis, and to continually create new opportunities for the extensive expansion on an ever larger scale of this sector with its particular requirements. Comrade Enver stressed on many occasions that farming and livestock raising are like two branches on the same trunk, and determine and permit each other's development. This constant party policy has inspired further development and progress.

If we look at the changes which have occurred, we will notice that in livestock raising in general there has been an absolute increase in the number of animals. But deeper, more positive changes have taken place in the structure of the variety of flocks and herds. During these 40 years of the socialist construction of the nation, the proportionate importance of cattle, pigs, and poultry has increased markedly. In particular, it is important that cows today constitute more than 40 percent of the entire livestock of the country, compared with less than a quarter in earlier decades.

These structural changes have created favorable conditions for overcoming the pronounced seasonal character of animal products, which is characteristic of extensive stock raising, with its reliance mainly upon smaller animals. They make it possible to increase the productive capacity of the stock raising sector in general.

Through the many investments made by the state and the research work of specialists both on the farms and in scientific institutes, a radical change has gradually been achieved in breeds of animals. At the end of 1985, more than 90 percent of the cows in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives were purebred or cross-breeds of these purebreds, whereas we know that in the early years after the liberation we had, throughout the country, only indigenous varieties with a low productive capacity. Significant improvements in breeding have also been reached in sheep and especially in pigs and poultry. Today, in every region, down to the remotest districts of the nation, we have distributed purebred and improved animals, suited to climatic and soil conditions, and to the requirements of animal and dairy production. Now we may say that our achievements in our breeds of animals are comparable with the levels of countries with advanced livestock raising.

Progress in stock raising has relied upon the constant growth of the fodder supply. To ensure this, we have in general moved from natural, uncultivated, and limited grazing, to cultivated forage crops, integrated into the whole agricultural turnover system. Each year we plant some 140,000 hectares with fodder and primary forage crops, and about the same area with secondary forage crops. At present, we plant twice as much primary forage alone compared with 1960.

There are now more than 3,100 veterinarians and animal husbandry experts with higher education, compared with only 200 in 1960, and 7,200 other workers who have finished a vocational secondary education in agriculture. This means that we have a livestock specialist with higher education for every 220 head of livestock. This too is an achievement which gives us the right to lay claim to a livestock raising sector with a high level of intensification.

The party and state have supported, and will continue to support, the development of stock raising with the necessary investment for the expansion of herds and their renewal, for building agricultural complexes for intensive production, food-processing centers, and other vital projects. At the beginning of the 80's investment in stock raising was on average an annual 450 to 500 million leks, or almost twice as much as in the 70's. In the Eighth Five-Year Plan too, investment for stock raising accounted for a third of all the funds which the state and cooperatives anticipated investing in agriculture.

The greatest transformation in stock raising has been the transfer of the overwhelming majority of flocks and herds from private property and individual farmyards to socialist ownership. At present more than 85 percent of productive animals are under common ownership. This process has been achieved gradually and at a measured pace, over an almost 40-year period. This is one of the greatest successes of the policy of the party for the socialist transformation of the countryside, which has opened broad prospects for the development and progress of stock raising on a scientific basis.

All these are notable achievements, and preconditions for broad possibilities of development. But we must be aware that, through a number of factors of a mainly subjective character, we are late in reaping many of the advantages that we have created over years and decades on end.

It is a fact that stock raising is in many cases underestimated by our agricultural cooperatives, and in consequence this sector has progressed at a lower rate than agriculture as a whole. Facts show that in 1985, compared with 1960, arable crops increased twice as fast as livestock and dairy production.

These conditions have led to a gap between the necessary and increasing demands of the populace for livestock and dairy products, and the level of fulfillment of these needs from the domestic product. It is an imperative task for us all to surmount this disproportion quickly.

May the demands and needs of the people always act as a force pushing us forward, as a powerful motivating power for the development of production.

A long time ago the party and Comrade Enver set themselves the task of improving the nutritional balance of the diet of the people in favor of products of animal origin, increasing the consumption quotas per head of

milk and fats, and reducing those for bread, as well as improving the viability of the major investments and expenditure disbursed for livestock raising. But how have matters proceeded toward fulfilling this basic goal? Of course things have not stood still and, as I mentioned earlier, progress has been made. But we are still far from the objectives laid down in the plans for economic and social development.

The party cannot and must not permit slow progress in the solution of these essential matters of the people. The Ninth Party Congress demanded a radical turnaround in livestock raising. Can this be done within the present five-year period? As you showed in your discussions, the turnaround which the party demands can be achieved, and even very soon. In this connection I too wish to express some ideas.

The tasks set out by the Ninth Congress for the priority development of the livestock sector are major and courageous. The vigorous growth of stock raising must be confronted by every link in the chain of management and production, with refined organizational methods and tight discipline. The party demands organization and discipline always and everywhere, down to the smallest matters of production and administration, but insists that these demands should be implemented first of all in the priority developments of the five-year period, in the principal branches of the economy and in its most difficult tasks, one of which, and one of the most important, is the development of livestock raising. However, even though the second year of the five-year period has begun, some of its tasks and objectives have not been realized well. Among these are the standardizing of livestock grazing densities, the pace of creating small herds in cooperatives and in agricultural enterprises, the improvement of the structure of the fodder supply, the securing of organic fertilizer in large quantities and from every source, matters concerning the great olive mass action, and so forth.

The accomplishment of great and exceptional tasks demands exceptional labor and exceptional measures, and demands the abandonment of routine and easygoing styles of work. From this point of view, the slow pace, inefficiency, and lack of practical sense noticed in stock raising by the apparati of the Ministry of Agriculture, the State Planning Commission, and the district executive committees, is anachronistic and does not accord with the demands of the age. Let the party not permit unclear situations and lack of responsibility in any sector, and where any question of the plan is concerned, and thus not in the stock raising development plan either. Everyone, from the ministers and their principal assistants to the worker and cooperativist must recognize their duties and be responsible for ensuring that they are performed on time.

When we talk about satisfying the needs of the people for livestock and dairy products, it is a question of a true, permanent solution, not a partial answer.

On the basis of the plan directives of the Eighth Five-Year period, the production of milk and its by-products, and egg production, must be solved

in accordance with the needs and purchasing power of the people, in every district and economic unit. In the same way, there must be gradual improvements in the case of meat, aiming at ensuring a normal supply for the people in the not-too-distant future. The achievement of these objectives demands the serious and organized commitment of the party and state authorities, every agricultural unit, cooperative and enterprise in the first place, but also of the auxiliary units of the retail sector, the army, units of the Internal Affairs Ministry, etc. Communists and members of the Youth League should always be in the vanguard, considering work in stock raising a matter of honor.

Increasing the number of animals is the sure way toward increasing livestock products and successfully harmonizing agriculture with stock raising. But progress on this road demands first of all the eradication of the conservative thinking of some specialists and cadres at the grassroots and in ministries who, with various kinds of worthless "reasons" in fact hamper the increase in livestock.

The most advanced specialists, in the press and on television, as here at this conference, are stressing that ensuring the size of the herd acts as a powerful and continual incentive toward stimulating all other production factors, and therefore also in improving the fodder supply. The basic means everywhere are the principal material bases for production, and in stock raising this part is primarily played by the number of animals and their vigorous reproduction. Livestock raising cannot grow while it waits for the time when there is a surplus of fodder. And so the scientific institutes, workers of the Ministry of Agriculture, those of sections and specialists among the districts, must put themselves in the vanguard in this issue, with their labor, and with convincing arguments.

Under present-day conditions, the standardization of livestock grazing density is the largest and most available resource for increasing livestock and dairy production. Let studies of this matter produce conclusions with recommendations. In general flat regions and those with a mixture of plains and hills within the temperate zone are less densely stocked than other districts. So, in the entire coastal region, we have no more than 80 to 100 head of cattle per 100 hectares of cultivable land, whereas in many other districts, with no more favorable climate and soil conditions, this density reaches 120 to 170 head. Agricultural enterprises, even though they have a stronger material and technical base and they plant about 35 percent of their land with primary forage crops, or twice as much as cooperatives, have the lowest densities, particularly of cows. In particular, at the end of 1985 agricultural enterprises had 29 cows per 100 hectares of fields, while cooperatives had 25 head in collective ownership, and 40 when those in private farmyards are taken into account. It is clear that this did not happen by accident but has come about as a result of some mistaken ideas of ministry planners connected with the supposedly low profitability of livestock raising, which I will talk about later.

At present 10 districts have more than 48 cows per 100 hectares of land under cultivation. If this density is achieved on a national scale by 1990, which is entirely possible, we will have more than 20,000 cows more than anticipated in the Eighth Five-Year Plan. The noticeable differences in livestock density from one district to another are a convincing argument that an increase in the number of livestock is not prevented by shortages in fodder resources.

The same can be said of small livestock. In this field too, even though resources in fodder are approximately the same, there are noticeable differences in the densities of small livestock among different districts. In the northeast alone, in Mat District there are more than 4 head of sheep per hectare of pasture land, while in Tropoje there are only 1.8 head, and in Kukes 2.5. In the southwest, where in Sarande there are 2.5 head of sheep per hectare of pasture land, in Permet there are only 1.3. Similarly, while in Librazhd District there are more than 4 goats per hectare of grazeable woodland, in Pogradec there is only 0.8 and in Gramsh 1.4. A simple calculation, logically evening up the disproportionate densities, shows that small livestock could be increased by about 1,400,000 head this year, or by as many as is foreseen in the five-year period up to 1990. And so it is not only possible to achieve the anticipated number of small livestock, but it is perfectly possible to surpass it. The present position of the most advanced, who have reserves too, shows this clearly.

It is the duty of the agricultural study institutes to provide acceptable scientific quotas for livestock densities in accord with the scale of development and progress of agriculture, both intensive and extensive. Opportunities of increasing livestock densities, by making agriculture more intensive and increasing the productive capacity of the land, will be further broadened. The relation between number of animals and the land has and must have its own logic, but growth should be continual.

There is no doubt that attaining the congress objectives for the development of livestock is closely tied to making the fodder supply stronger. The Politburo made a special decision about this 2 years ago with detailed and concrete guidelines and proposed solutions. Progress and changes have occurred since that time. But there is still some lagging behind.

During 1986 great efforts were made in silage, but as regards other aspects of the fodder question positive changes have been small. Improvements in the structure of forage crops dictated by climatic and soil conditions according to districts and regions have not been made. The yields of forage crops are low, about 40 quintals of fodder per hectare for primary fodder crops and about 20 quintals for secondary forage crops. Attitudes underestimating the need to supply a material base and to care for forage crops continue. They are often considered wild plants, which grow by themselves. Large quantities of straw, grass, woodland leaves, and industrial byproducts remain uncollected and unused. So progress in the chemical and biological processing of coarse fodder goes slowly.

But let us keep well in mind that the entire fodder supply on a national scale cannot be met from primary forage crops and concentrates as planned, under the conditions of our country. Therefore the expansion of secondary forage crops, especially in coastal regions, aiming to gain an average of 2 crops a year from the land, and the maximum use of pasture capacity and industrial and agricultural byproducts remain the principal ways of balancing the fodder supply with the needs of livestock today and in the future.

The encouraging step forward in the corn yield during 1986 should be consolidated and further promoted, because this is the only way of securing adequate supplies of concentrate for the livestock sector. The results and scientific recommendations of the Corn Institute and the Animal Husbandry Unit in Shkoder, as well as many of the arguments advanced by participants in discussions at this conference, open new prospects to workers and specialists in agriculture and livestock raising for making a significant leap forward in increasing the quantity and quality of the entire nutritional basis for livestock.

The increase in the number of livestock must also be considered as part of the demand for an advanced agriculture, and as a function of the needs of the soil for organic fertilizer. The effectiveness of the major investments which we have made and are continuing to make in irrigating arable land and in chemical fertilizers demands as a necessary component the large scale use of organic fertilizer, which comes mainly from livestock, though also from other sources. This will also increase the efficiency of the livestock sector and the value of its products.

There exists an unpardonable underestimation of the importance of organic fertilizer. Mistaken ideas have taken root in the minds of some specialists and technicians which lead to a total overestimation of the importance of chemical fertilizer, to the detriment of organic. There have been few efforts to gather, store, and manage manure, not to speak of all those vegetable byproducts that can be transformed into fertilizer, such as industrial waste, human waste, ash, and so forth. The excuses that "there are not enough workers, means of transport, and investments for all the work that organic fertilizer requires" do not hold water.

The main factors are lack of organization and the overemphasis of on chemical fertilizer, without proper consideration for soil nourishment and the present and long-term needs of society. So, as regards the number of livestock and organic fertilizer, it is necessary to change our thinking and practice from the planning stage onward, to establish the necessary equilibrium between agriculture and livestock.

Specialists argue that to obtain the level of arable yield planned for this five-year period, the soil should be supplied with an annual average of about 7 to 8 million tons of organic fertilizer, while up to now, according to the evidence, no more than 5.5 million tons are supplied. This is a clear problem which demands skillful organization, measures which can

be monitored, and effective mass actions. Television producers have done well, on their own initiative, in creating valuable programs about agriculture, about organic fertilizer, and about olives, etc. But specialists at institutes, who are also the more competent people, should do more to supply the press and the propaganda network with the necessary advice and innovative thinking and also should visit the various districts of the country, with the aim of convincing management cadres and specialists and assisting the organization of work in the collection, processing and maximally effective use of organic fertilizer.

The processing of fertilizer in the towns, and the exploitation for this purpose of every kind of industrial, trade, and human waste, including sewage, has been entrusted to communes. But results hitherto have been quite worthless. Who will set this project in motion, and who must demand that this work is done to a high standard, so that thousands and thousands of tons of organic fertilizer of nutritious content are gained for agriculture? There is no doubt that those who stand to benefit most are workers in agriculture. Yet the towns do not do this, while even in the countryside it is only done very inefficiently. These subjective shortcomings must be ended, and this can be done if authorities, from village and brigade level to the communal enterprises of the towns, take the appropriate measures.

The creation and development of small flocks and herds of livestock at brigade level is a real and effective opportunity for the speedy growth of livestock and dairy production on the basis of the exploitation of the internal reserves of the agricultural sector. Now the opening phase of the implementation of the initiative of the peasantry for the creation of small flocks is over. Small herds have become a natural element in economic relations in the countryside and in the organization of livestock production. In all districts, 8,300 herds have been created with some 35,000 cows and heifers, and about 75,000 head of small livestock.

The creation of small herds at brigade level, in every village, is to the benefit of the growth and reinforcement of cooperativists' common property; it is in the immediate interest of the peasantry, increasing their consumption of livestock products, and increasing incomes from production for the market. Keeping livestock in small herds, alongside livestock complexes and large concentrated herds, creates real opportunities for the intensive exploitation of the many nutritional reserves and resources of agriculture.

There are now plenty of examples in favor of the creation and consolidation of small herds, and the role they play in fulfilling the milk needs of cooperativists. There are such examples in Gjirokaster and Elbasan, in the districts of Korce and Vlore, Lushnje and Durres, Shkoder and Berat, and everywhere. Ilir Xholi, brigade leader from Maqullare; Bajram Koci, shepherd from Verzhezhe, and Mustafa Hajdini, manager of the Sukth Agricultural Enterprise, have spoken on the present occasion. Tone Bardhi, shepherdess of a small flock from the village of Hasan near Fushe-Kruje,

did not speak here, but wrote very well in yesterday's newspaper. The results of the small flocks at the Bishan cooperative in Fier District also offer encouraging experience, which was described in an article in ZERI I POPULLIT the day before yesterday, and so on.

The exemplary results which have been achieved in these and hundreds of other brigades are inspiring examples, which show how realistic is the faith of the party, expressed at the Ninth Congress, that small herds, if they are looked after with enthusiasm and in a creative spirit, far removed from every kind of routine and uniformity, will before the end of 1988 guarantee the supply of the cooperative peasantry and workers in agricultural enterprises with fresh milk.

Bearing in mind the conditions of our country, with a limited amount of cultivable land, with rugged terrain, huge pasture areas, and a work force that increases every year in the countryside and in agriculture, dire consequences would follow from underestimating the major opportunities for the maintenance and increase of flocks in traditional ways, on an extensive pattern.

It is clear that the creation of small herds has a range of economic and social benefits. But their exploitation requires much labor, persistence and control on the part of the party and all its instruments. In the first place, working people who understand the importance of small herds and are keen on livestock should be appointed. Let us all bear in mind, despite the major role played by natural conditions, that in the final analysis the human factor is decisive in livestock raising too. A greater amount of energetic work will produce higher yields from livestock.

On the other hand, there are other measures which must be taken to pave the way for the development and progress of small herds at a sure and fast pace. In most brigades today there are few cows that yield milk, because a large number of them are still heifers. As a result, the villager has still not experienced the full direct benefit which the cows of small herds can provide for him. And so not only must heifers be turned into cows within as short a period as possible, but every brigade in cooperatives and agricultural enterprises must add to the number of cows or small livestock in its small herds and flocks according to opportunity. Experience shows that large brigades can maintain more than 10 to 12 cows, or up to 100 head of sheep or goats, and can increase and intensify the renewal of the herd through its own calves.

Managers of agricultural enterprises and those of the districts must encourage brigades in the development of small herds in the correct way, and encourage the initiative of brigade leaders, cooperativists, and workers in agricultural enterprises, and help them where necessary with the necessary funds for the purchase of animals from private farmyards, stimulating increased milk yield, and so forth. As the party has decided, for the sake of increased production, very low prices must be established for milk from small herds, not only for cooperativists, but also for the

workers of agricultural enterprises. For the same reason, brigade leaders must add a supplement to wages in relation to the number of animals in the brigade's herd, and so on.

Every cadre, manager, and specialist must realize that the increase of the number of small herds, and of their size, is one of the ways forward to an increase in the number of animals in the livestock sector, and toward improving the supply of the people in town and country with livestock and dairy products. The harmonious development of livestock raising through concentrated herds, livestock complexes, and small herds, is the only way of accomplishing the major leap forward in livestock raising which we demand.

Achieving the objectives of the Ninth Party Congress which state that by the end of 1988, all the brigades of cooperativists and workers in agricultural enterprises which are capable of keeping livestock will be able to supply the members of their families with fresh milk from small herds, demands the fulfillment at all costs, and even overfulfillment, of the targets of the five-year plan. Therefore, according to specialists' calculations, the number of cows, apart from heifers, in small herds in cooperatives must reach 40-45,000 head before the end of 1987, and in agricultural enterprises, about 5,000 head. This can be accomplished, within the small herds themselves, by the speedy conversion of heifers into cows, and by the purchase from farmyards of about 10,000 cows and heifers. To ensure and consolidate the task set by the congress, it emerges that by 1990 the number of cows in the small herds of cooperatives must reach 80,000, and 10,000 in agricultural enterprises. If it is remembered that within the first 4 and 5 months of 1986 alone, 35,000 cows and heifers and some 75,000 small livestock were secured, it is clear that the goals set for 1987 and beyond are perfectly realistic. To achieve the goal, herds will be increased through their own birth rate, through births in concentrated herds, and particularly through purchases from private yards.

Today, in those areas where cows have not been gathered into small herds, there are some tens of thousands of cows in the cooperative farmyards. The party is convinced that villagers who keep cows will increase the number of animals in small herds, by selling to the cooperatives or to the state those cows they would otherwise slaughter, or the calves and heifers which are in excess of the statutory norm.

With the aid of these developments, small herds, at the end of this five-year period, will assume a significant proportion both in production and consumption. They will constitute about a third of the number of cows in cooperatives and enterprises, and will give about a quarter of the total production of cow's milk. This is not merely wishful thinking, but an actual possibility. Of course, it requires work, and even persistent labor, organized as well as it can be.

The successful solution of problems of agriculture demands that they be treated in an increasingly scientific way. The main object of study should be the smooth growth and development of herd renewal. Comrade Enver stressed, "Renewal is the basis of the extensive reproduction of the herd, and the increase of livestock and dairy production." In this way it will be possible to solve two acute problems of livestock raising simultaneously: the significant increase in the number of animals and the fast rejuvenation of concentrated herds in cooperatives and agricultural enterprises. In cooperatives, about 15,000 heifers each year become cows, at a time when, specialists show, the minimal technical assistance exists for about 30,000. In agricultural enterprises too, some 6,000 heifers become cows, when the chances exist for about 10,000. This is an obvious reserve which must be exploited unhesitatingly every year.

To ensure the rejuvenation of cattle in concentrated herds, and in small herds too, the level of annual replacement should be raised, with the aim of achieving a renewal rate of 20 percent as against the 12 to 15 percent which we find today. This will mean that the average age of cows will be normalized within a short time, and will create opportunities for increasing livestock production. Because of the defective age structure in the cow population, as well as other factors, tens of thousands of purebred and improved cows in coastal regions are not giving quantities of milk to the full extent of their biological capacities.

For a long time, animal breeds have been distributed in a specifically regional way. But in practice the criteria set out have not been applied, and marked incidences of arbitrariness are noticeable. In all the districts of the hilly and mountainous zone set aside for cows of the "Sukth" breed, the herds are mixed to an almost equal extent with cows of the spotted breed. It is well-known that spotted cows have a higher productive capacity, but they also demand more scientific attention and especially more fodder. Therefore their spread in these areas reduces the effectiveness of this major investment which we are making, and must not be allowed to continue. Let us not forget that society annually invests 1,000 leks for every head of cattle.

Years ago there was a serious study made for the distribution of cows of the "Valbona" breed in the alpine zones of the country, yet still today the first examples remain only in those centers where they were first introduced (in Tropoje, in Bize near Tirana, and in Shkoder).

The Ministry of Agriculture and its organs in the districts are responsible for this somewhat confused situation, but the Institute of Livestock Research also bears a heavy responsibility, since one of the basic tasks of its work is the improvement of breeds and the territorial distribution of livestock by regions.

The low level of fertility is another factor which in the final analysis shows shortcomings in the scientific management of livestock. Here, no doubt, the underfulfillment of nutritional requirements has exerted its

own influence, but the carelessness which has been shown in the implementation of technical rules, especially by livestock specialists and veterinarians, is to be condemned. Through this lack of care toward fertility, the economy every year loses a very substantial number of lambs and kids and several thousand calves, which constitute a large reserve, particularly for meat. A radical turnabout is necessary in this field, with comprehensive measures, as well as material incentives for working people and specialists, especially when they exceed the planned targets for livestock fertility.

The slaughter of animals of low weight, and the high level of damage sustained through death and loss, exerts a major influence upon the total number of livestock, especially for meat. The number of animals which are slaughtered for meat for the needs of members of agricultural cooperatives exceeds that of animals handed over for procurement, but their average weight at slaughter is 50 percent lower. All these factors, comrades, indicate major reserves, whose exploitation will make the attainment of our goals for the growth of livestock production entirely possible.

Our livestock sector represents very great wealth, but the control of its administration is weak, of a spasmodic character and with low effectivity. The interests of the people and of socialism demand that every valuable resource be properly maintained and kept in order, and especially that financial responsibility be enforced. Therefore the regulations for the administration of livestock raising must be reviewed as soon as possible, made more specific, more effective, and should have a deterrent force. Specialized state controls, internal controls in agricultural enterprises, and on the part of workers and villagers, must constantly keep their sights trained on the smooth running of work with livestock. The Institute of Veterinary Research must not tolerate delays and must deal with the unpleasant consequences and situations that result from illness and harm to animals, particulary among cattle and poultry. It must identify the condition of livestock at once, and inaugurate effective nationwide preventive measures.

For progress to be made and our aims achieved in the livestock sector, the agricultural science and research institutes must energe from the walls of their laboratories and staff rooms. They must respond seriously to the major problems posed by the development of livestock raising today, and must integrate themselves into the broad production process. We also demand scientific work from those thousands of specialists who deal directly with livestock and with forage crops on the farms, who not infrequently, and wrongly, turn into ordinary administrators interested solely in the delivery of planned production.

In practice, in various forms, though mostly sub rosa, the opinion is circulating that livestock raising is a sector of low profitability, and that this is one of the obstacles to its development. Let us say from the

start that such attitudes and opinions are mistaken and hinder progress. They are based upon narrow sectional and group interests, and in the onesided and shallow understanding of the profitability of agricultural production on the part of some specialists and cadres.

How does this matter stand in reality? Let us turn to the facts. It is true that when the livestock sector is examined in isolation, especially meat production as a whole, production is often carried out with low profitability and even at a loss. But here the fact that internal reserves are not thoroughly exploited, as has been said at this conference, exerts a primary effect.

Advanced experience convinces us of the profitability of livestock. At the Perondi cooperative in Berat, at Krutje and Gore in Lushnje, at Vaqarr in Tirana, at the "Clirim" and Levan agricultural enterprises in Fier District, and the "29 Nentori" enterprise of Lushnje District, livestock production emerges with good profitability. Tens of thousands of head of livestock in small herds were kept with no investment, when one realizes that during the last five-year period, more than 160 million leks were used merely for sheds for cows from private yards incorporated into small herds. Of course if funds are not used in a worthwile way and if solutions relying on expensive investments are demanded, then not only livestock, but everything and every sector and form of production comes out as unprofitable.

On the other hand, in considering this matter the important fact must be borne in mind that organic fertilizer, which plays a primary part in increasing productivity and increasing the effectivity of expenditure upon agriculture, is never taken into account when the profitability of livestock is discussed, or is counted as of very small value. Realistically, the benefit of organic fertilizers must be reckoned by its influence upon increased production of cereals and other arable crops, just as the effect of chemical fertilizers is calculated. Seen from this angle, the profitability of arable crops, which is quite high, must to a considerable extent be considered a profit for the livestock sector too.

To increase the profitability of livestock, one might consider a redistribution of income between arable and livestock production, through changes in the procurement price in favor of livestock and dairy products. could lead to partial changes, and has been used when the opportunity has arisen on a scale which has permitted increased yields, especially in cereal crops and agricultural products destined for export. But in the final analysis, full redistribution is only implemented by the agricultural cooperatives themselves, because a form of cooperation between arable crops, fruit production, and livestock raising is present in each of them. So the struggle to increase the effectiveness of investment and expenditure in agricultural production as a whole is simultaneously a struggle for higher profitability in agricultural production too. For some time now, priority for cereal crops has become priority for livestock too. This must be fully understood. Therefore livestock profitability must be viewed within a broader framework, alongside all its cooperative relationships with other agricultural sectors.

The struggle to fulfill plans, the maximum increase of efforts for the exploitation of internal reserves and the growth in the role of science in production, are broad paths toward increasing efficiency and profitability in agriculture, as well as in livestock raising. But the attainment of these requires the conviction of everybody that the problems of livestock raising can be solved, while initiatives and advanced workers and specialists must be stimulated and supported, and the party, and its organizations and communists, must be in the vanguard of labor against every difficulty. The organs of the state and the economy must exercise effective organization and control.

The year 1987 is decisive for the realization of objectives and the dynamic development of livestock raising, and the coordination of livestock production with the needs of the people and the economy. During this year, there must be a major leap forward in the number of head of livestock, there must be a fast consolidation and expansion of small herds in cooperatives and agricultural enterprises, and an intensification of the processes of scientific management of livestock, and a radical turning point in guaranteeing the fodder supply; the active role of science in all these tasks must be evident. We all have opportunities to realize the tasks and objectives set by this conference. The line of the party is correct and inspiring. The Ninth Congress set clear duties, and we have the people united and ready for every task and mass action. The peasantry has an ancient tradition and love of livestock raising.

I express the complete faith of the Central Committee that, as always, under the leadership of the party, the working people of livestock raising and other related sectors will put their shoulders to the task and accomplish as quickly as possible the great step forward which is asked of them.

Long live the AWP!

Forward to fresh successes!

/12858

CSO: 2100/19

POLITICS POLAND

#### SECURITY, DEFENSE AGENCIES HOST PZPR REPORT-ELECTION MEETINGS

Baryla, Kiszczak at Interior Ministry Meeting

Warsaw ZOINIERZ WOINOSCI in Polish 25-26 Oct 86 pp 1,7

[Article by Janusz Grochowski: "The Correctness of the Line of Struggle and Compromise"]

[Text] Concern for strengthening the security of the socialist state, a desire to continue broad action to consolidate moral values within society and the struggle against social pathology and evil were characterized by the discussions at a PZPR report-election meeting in the Interior Ministry.

Participating in the party debate were Politburo members Jozef Baryla, PZPR Central Committee secretary, and General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, interior minister.

Also present were Deputy Politburo Member and First Secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee Janusz Kubasiewicz and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek.

During the many hours of frank and constructive discussion, the delegates keenly analyzed the party organization's achievements up to date and used the decrees of the 10th Party Congress to set tasks for the future.

What has been accomplished? The commitment of party members and non-party functionaries of civilian employees of the ministry has increased. Party and work discipline has improved.

- -- 56.5 percent of new PZPR members were received on the recommendation of the ZSMP [Union of Polish Socialist Youth];
- -- During its term of office, the district PZPR committee has received a total of 507 recommendations, 203 of which were submitted during the pre-congress campaign;

-- The party organization has actively participated in the establishment and realization of personnel policy.

On the Present State of Affairs and the Future:

[Comrade Tadeusz Walichnowski] "The struggle for the awareness of Poles has become an integral part of actions aimed at protecting the security of the state and public order."

[Comrade Boleslaw Punda] "We must begin thinking today about tomorrow and Poland's future. There is no doubt that one of the many unforgettable factors shaping the future is our quickly maturing and developing youth and the moral health of young Poles."

[Comrade Stanislaw Lesiuk] "To build up the party's prestige and importance, it is not enough to just outline proper directions. Above all, the party's authority and real influence depend on the attitudes of the members themselves, how well they fulfill their everyday duties in the party and at their jobs, the results of their work and the sort of climate they help to create as a party organization."

[Comrade Jerzy Karpacz] "Everyone hopes that the decision to free all persons who have committed crimes against the state and public order will help to stabilize our country. It is also quite understandable that many also hope that those freed under this act of humanity and good will by the government will draw the proper conclusions from that experience."

[Comrade Czeslaw Kiszczak] "The Congress has definitely ended the period of political frustration that marked the first half of the 1980's. Five years of hard and stubborn struggle by the party has stabilized and normalized our internal situation. Our internal enemy, the illegal structures and opposition groups have lost their public support and can no longer influence most of society with their political slogans and the proof of this is well known to us.

A new stage in the political, social and economic development of socialist Poland has become the dominant accent. Realistically assessing how much everbroader realms of social and political life have become stabilized, the party is the promoter of open and decisive actions to fulfill the great historical opportunity offered by the 10th Congress's strategy for accelerating Poland's socialist development.

Such a bold step opening up a new phase in a national compromise was the passing of the 17 July 1986 law on special criminal procedure and above all by the September decision to free all so-called political prisoners...As we have seen so far, the goals behind these decisions have been attained. We are strongly convinced that further development of this situation will produce for Poland positive internal and external trends...Of course, we did not and could not assume that the September decisions would immediately liquidate the opposition and the so-called underground. We also did not expect a positive or realistic reaction from everyone involved in antigovernment activity. Some of them are almost professionally involved in this type of activity and regard

their opposition as a lifestyle or a source of income. The threat to our state posed by this type of activity is permanent and to a large extent, this is reflected in the activities of the Security Service."

[Comrade Andrzej Anklewicz] "It is our ambition for the functioning system of training and propaganda to prepare officials not only to correctly realize their service tasks and duties but also and perhaps above all for life in society and for the political struggle that is taking place around us.

How are the tasks to be realized? In a resolution they passed, the delegates outlined the basic directions for party activities within the Interior Ministry during the coming term of office. These tasks involve all areas of party and service life, internal party affairs, ideological education and social problems. These tasks were adopted with consideration of the rich achievements of the 10th PZPR Congress as well as the public's expectations of the actions of organs responsible for preserving public order.

At its first plenary session, the PZPR District Committee in the Interior Ministry chose Stanislaw Kabacinski as its first secretary and Rudolf Jakubczuk as the chairman of the Control and Review Commission.

Oliwa At Rail, Highway Troops Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-26 Oct 86 pp 1,7

[Article by Tadeusz Pieklo: "Not Words But Deeds"]

[Text] The communists in uniform in railway and highway units know the importance of words. For party members and military railway and highway troops, the party conference has become an occasion to confirm what they have learned in hard yearly training an our railways and highways. People spoke sparingly and without flourish. Discussions were earnest and the criticism was sharp.

The quartermaster chief of the Polish Army and vice-minister of national defense, General of Arms Wlodzimierz Oliwa, took part in the conference.

The slogan in the conference hall was "The party's strength lies In the Primary Party Organizations and the Awareness of Party Members". And the awareness not only of the party members but also of all other troops of communications formations has become the chief field of creative experiments, ideas, proposals and conclusions. What must be done and how to broaden and strengthen this awareness to fit the needs and tasks of today and the future?

The achievements so far are satisfactory but much remains to be done and reconsidered and nearly everything needs to be improved. That is what the party members among the troops perceive their task to be. It is true that their ideological attitudes, deep commitment and skillful resolution of everyday training, educational, economic and production problems has a positive effect on the work done for the good of our nation's transportation systems. Setting a personal example is one means of influencing the indecisive and weak.

As one report emphasized, party members know that "the prerequisite for successfully overcoming the economic crisis is the efficient functioning of our nation's transportation. This was strongly reflected in the Program and Resolution of the 10th PZPR Congress".

This has had a direct influence on these troops. Transportation units which support combat actions spend spend a larger part of every year to improving the nation's transport. Every year, with the work they do, they leave behind them lasting monuments to soldierly deeds and ideals. Last year's plan was fulfilled by nearly 109 percent. They built 20 kilometers of railway lines and 69 kilometers of highways. they modernized 1800 kilometers of railway line and 70 kilometers of highway while also building 2190 junctions.

However, the discussions were not centered around these achievements. The recurring themes of party debate were discipline, the organization of training, educational results and the party's influence on the troops. There was also much discussion about how to solidly deal with the past and beat a new path.

Wladyslaw Bereza said: "Proper care of equipment and daily, precise and careful performance of work are the best means of improving one's service and that is often overlooked. It is important to create the sort of conditions and atmosphere under which it will not benefit anyone to loaf or feign work and under which any discrepancy between what one says and does is no longer possible". He went on to give specific examples and these discrepancies.

It was said that it was now necessary to increase the energy of practical party activities, to be able to fulfill growing demands and achieve as much as possible using the least energy and resources. Self-critically speaking, Comrade Bernard Typiak said: "The problems of party work with youth are sometimes treated somewhat formally and superficially. We limit ourselves just to criticizing actions without analyzing forms or methods or the tasks fulfilled by young party members".

"Full control, supervision and accountability are necessary to properly train our troops for action on the field of battle," said the chief quartermaster of the Polish Army. "The logic behind this is the least amount of people and energy and the highest productivity or in other words, the type of training that wastes nothing and makes it more possible to perform one's tasks with the resources available. Good work and the correct attitude can only be taught as long as correct interpersonal relationships are maintained and under conditions of genuine soldierly brotherhood so necessary to the military. this feeling of collegiality to produce the right sort of discipline, education and training, it is necessary to control egotistical attitudes, envy and wrongdoing. Everyone must understand and help each other in difficult situations. Soldiers must make a joint effort to condemn violations of discipline because discipline is the primary prerequisite for fulfilling It is the obligation of all party members to work well, skillfully solve human and technical problems and to strengthen combat readiness as the superior goal.

Everyone spoke out with passion, concern for tomorrow and in the faith that everything can be done better and more efficiently and that too was the sense of the conference resolution outlining a program for action in 1986-1991. In his speech, Colonel Ryszard Kazimierczak, a representative of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army [GZP WP], said that it is necessary to evaluate achievements, analyze shortcomings and specify the party's tasks for the future.

# Military Political Academy Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-26 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by Wieslaw Rasala and Robert Kowal: "Earnest Service"]

[Text] In the nearly three years that it has been in operation, the party organization at the Feliks Dzierzynski Military Political Academy [WAP] has been characterized by increasing activity and involvement in social and service work. Recently, its work rhythm has been set by the tasks outlined in the resolutions of the 10th PZPR Congress. That was the conviction of people attending the 26th Reports-Election Meeting at the Military Political Academy.

The first deputy chief of the Chief Political Directorate of the Polish Army, Rear Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski attended this meeting. Also present was the deputy chief of military training affairs for the Chief Political Directorate, Brigadier General Mieczyslaw Michalik.

In the name of the outgoing party committee, its first secretary, Jan Gozdziuk, read a report.

From the Report -- A Balance of Achievements

- -- A considerable scientific and research achievement (118 scientific works and reports on current problems in the life of the country, academic symposia and the Evening College of Marxism-Leninism's system of ideological training);
- -- Close cooperation with the civilian community (patronage of scouting troops, realization of ideological training during children's and youth camps organized by the academy, cooperation with the teachers of Warsaw schools, work in conjunction with the party aktiv at the Stalowa Wola Steel Mills, the

Ursus Machine Works and the Warsaw-Ochota District PZPR Committee and District People's Council);

- -- Optimal creation of teaching programs with regard to the efficiency of ideological indoctrination of troops;
- -- Increased didactic discipline and better organizing of the teaching process;
- -- Use of the newest technical achievements such as specialized classrooms, educational television and minicomputers.

## Noted During the Discussion

[Comrade Kazimierz Lastawski] "We must take a realistic approach to the problem of integrating the teaching systems in the higher officer schools, the Central Army School for Political Officers and the Military Political Academy. Therefore, we must eliminate unnecessary parts of programs, continue to build upon our base of teaching aids and improve the quality of political journalism."

[Comrade Jakub Grabiszewski] "To meet the challenges of the coming years, a group of competent persons must thoroughly discuss everything involving the computerization of our schools, from hardware to the personality of the user. This is our duty and there is much that can be done here."

[Comrade Stanislaw Sokolowski] "Under the existing structure of the academy, we must teach more effectively and work out model solutions for education to meet the needs of the troops. Personnel problems today require a comprehensive and long-term approach. We must join the forces of the teaching faculty and the science of psychology to make the best choice of students for station doctoral studies so that we can increase the number of doctoral graduates."

[Comrade Wladyslaw Polanski] "The didactic and educational process, the teaching activity of our faculty and the life at our school as a military organism constitute a cohesive and indivisible whole. Under the conditions at WAP, the modernization and improvement of the didactic process means improvement of the educational process."

In the next few years, the faculty, departments, WAP administration and party organizations should make a joint effort in the area of scientific research to incorporate our research work into military practice, teaching processes and the tasks of party political work. We must also work out and test principles and criteria for evaluating the quality of scientific work and its practical usefulness.

During the discussion, Rear-Admiral Dutkowski said that the Military Political Academy is well known both at home and abroad as a center of Marxist-Leninist and humanist thought and as a research and teaching center. It is a school in which the principle of unity of teaching, education and research is realized.

The First Deputy Chief of the GZP WP highly evaluated the work of the school's PZPR committee and the primary party organizations whose action has been correctly aimed at exercising considerable influence over fundamental areas of party life and service at WAP. Consistent and efficient realization of the Defense Ministry's recommendations, GZP WP guidelines and action programs has further strengthened the ideals and commitment of the troops and army employees, contributed to a higher level of political and moral awareness and made the teaching process more efficient. members of the academy's party organization, said the rear-admiral, have always distinguished themselves by their political maturity and high professional skills and continue to do so. These qualities give give the teachers of WAP great political and professional authority within the armed forces.

In his own name and in that of the GZP WP, Rear-Admiral Dutkowski wished the elected officials of the party organization at WAP, the party committee, its executive board and the control and review commission good luck in their realization of the conference's resolutions and much satisfaction in their daily service and work.

## From the Program

- -- To systematically and efficiently realize the tasks set by the "Schedule for the Development of Culture in the Armed Forces for the years 1986-1990";
- -- To deepen knowledge about the problems of Marxism-Leninism among the faculty, students and employees of the academy;
- -- To inspire action to achieve greater efficiency in teaching and research work;
- -- To improve the forms and methods of cooperation with youth organizations, trade unions, military units and civilian party organizations;
- -- To show constant concern for the humanization and high discipline of work and studies.

The delegates to the 26th WAP PZPR Reports-Elections meeting elected new party officials. Colonel Ryszard Rosa became the new first secretary of the party committee and Lieutenant Colonel Stefan Chojnecki was chosen as the chairman of the control and review commission.

# Military Police HQs Meeting

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 25-26 Oct 86 p 7

[Article by Jerzy Rajch: "Ideals and Discipline Above All"]

[Text] Specified recommendations and proposals, weaknesses and unexploited reserves in party activity were the subject of discussions between delegates to the 20th PZPR Reports-Elections Meeting of the Military Police and subordinate units. The first deputy chief of the GZP WP, Rear-Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski, took part in the meeting and also present was the director of the Military Police, Colonel Edmund Bula.

The basis for a report by the party committee was earnest and critical analysis of service problems and life within the military police. Discussion was dominated by a critical approach to the activation and utilization of reserve potential in service and party political work, in ideological and political education and in social problems.

A report by the outgoing PZPR committee noted the achievements attained by joint service and party efforts.

### From the report:

- -- The primary task is to strengthen the authority and improve the style and efficiency of the activities of the primary party organizations;
- -- It is necessary to continually establish exemplary attitudes among party members, give them concrete tasks and see that these are realized;
- -- Positive results in party work can only be achieved through working with people and remaining in contact with all party comrades and their problems;
- -- It remains necessary to seek ever-better forms of party and service cooperation.

#### From discussion:

[Comrade Wlodzimierz Sznyk] "The primary party organizations are very important to the successful realization of tasks and we see much unexploited potential in them. We should make meetings in the primary organizations less formal and enhance their ideological and educational functions."

[Comrade Miroslaw Bieda] "We train and prepare personnel for the needs of a difficult service. Only properly conducted personnel actions have made it possible for us to make rational use of human resources."

[Comrade Wladyslaw Kot] "We must take care to preserve the correct moral standards of our personnel and troops. We must strive to attain the ideal and be people with open minds. Aside from discipline and preserving order, the most important aspect of our work is preventing crime."

[Comrade Tadeusz Buczek] "The character of our service is what gives party work its specific nature. Despite the fact that we are quite familiar in our service with traits like idealism, commitment, morality and discipline, we must still continue to consolidate and spread these qualities because our good work comes from a mixture of these characteristics plus profound political knowledge and an ability to use it."

[Comrade Edmund Bula] "Despite the fact that the political opponents' support is dwindling, their goals remain the same. Organs of public safety and order must continue to make a strong effort and for that reason, there is no room in our ranks for indecisive and insincere people. The party aktiv is the vanguard for the best achievements."

Rear-Admiral Ludwik Dutkowski spoke during the discussion. He highly praised the achievements of the party organization and the creative and constructive nature of the conference. In its subsequent work, its basic task will be to introduce the ideas of the highest party forum into everyday practice. These ideals must be transformed into concrete tasks for every party member and candidate.

"Of special importance," said Rear-Admiral Dutkowski, "is the preservation of a high level of discipline, improvements in the style of party functioning and increased demands on all party candidates. Party activities should be based on the work of the primary party organizations and for that reason, it is essential to strengthen their role and authority in everyday service.

An election was held for new officials. Colonel Marian Jozwiak was re-elected as first secretary pf the PZPR committee and Colonel Mieczyslaw Celinski was chosen as the chairman of the control-review commission.

A resolution passed at the meeting specified directions for party activity.

12261

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POLITICS
YUGOSLAVIA

#### DRAMATIZATION OF SERBIAN NOVEL ATTACKED IN ADVANCE

Zagreb OKO in Serbo-Croatian 1-15 Jan 87 p 11

[Commentary by Damir Borkovic]

[Text] The Belgrade theater public is awaiting the dramatization of the novel "Knjiga o Milutinu" (Book About Milutin) by Danko Popovic. The pleasure of anticipation, which—if carried away by the paraffin wings of primitivism—might evolve into a crazed feast of ethnic self—assertion, needs to be mercilessly burned up on the red—hot table of reality.

The Belgrader from New York, Arsa Jovanovic, who with charismatic infallibility has attached himself to a romanticized updated version of the history of the Serbian people ("victor in wars, whose cakes of wartime glory have been basely broken up and crushed by its South Slavic brethren"), is preparing a hit performance in the Zvezdara theater, a performance more intriguing than those on the subject of the battles of 1914-1918 or shaving Vissarionovich's mustache.

"Knjiga o Milutinu," which has had unusually high pressruns by Yugoslav publishing standards (the 16th edition of 30,000 copies is now on sale in Zagreb bookstores), has been appraised by commentators in weekly journals as close to ideological subversion. The nonexistent censor's blessing on this book is a sign of the democratization of society, of a system that permits a diversity of world views.

The Hilandar [monastic] archetypes are being reaffirmed in an era of increased interest in religious themes and spiritual life generally. The motivation for the future liturgical seances in the Zvezdara theater can be no other than the timely selloff of ethnic chimeras, a popular motivation given the post-contrarevolutionary and revanchist mood of certain strata. This is giving vent to emotionalism; this is rummaging around for troublesome questions in this century's history.

This is not Momo Kapor, crowned with the aureola of a skilled craftsman, with the mannerisms of an unsurpassable chatterbox tapping out charming and relevant preludes on themes from everyday life, shattering nationalistic chimeras like so many marbles. No, this is the inveterate anachronism Danko Popovic, who combines Milutin's Dragacevo trumpet [reference to music festival in

central Serbia] with [Chetnik] fur hats with cockades and the sharp screech of the sharpening of daggers.

This book is an infamous selloff, the equivalent of a stand selling teeshirts with pictures of the mysterious Hong Kong dragon Bruce Lee or calendars illustrated with the flabby torso of a national heroine.

Consistency in the implementation of "Operation Milutin" would be achieved if the money earned from the sale of books and theater tickets were to be used for the construction of the First Serbian Lacrimatorium, which would collect the tears of the masochistic heroes worried about the sad lot of their people, the "steady loser in peacetime." This concern is an insincere and artificial pose, camouflage for their selfish interests. The cannonades of Tito's guns buried the empty blabbering of the war profiteers, smugglers, and hog traders with their dynasties, princes, and hagiographies. This is the modern Serbia, the modern Yugoslavia, which is exporting automobiles to the United States in the mid-1980's.

A significant indication of the commercial nature of the dramatization is that, while the novel is written in the first person singular (a form ideal for monodrama), viewers will see a variant in dialogue originating in the workship of Arsa Jovanovic.

"Milutin" flirts with frivolous Nazi rudiments among readers, and in future viewers, the great majority of whom are good self-managers and patriots. "Milutin" is a kind of "mental hygiene" for them, a fine-scented marble lavoratory for their secretions.

We can hope that the theater piece about Milutin will not be a launching pad for renegades or sinners [references to novels by Dobrica Cosic] or a center for the creation of an apostate syndrome. Let it remain outside the shadow of the memorandum [scandal-prone document smuggled out of the Serbian Academy of Sciences], let it rise above the primitive regions of revanchism and interethnic intolerance, let it operate as a more or less successful piece of theater.

/6091

CSO: 2800/114

SOCIOLOGY

MEDICAL PERSONNEL MEET, STUDY NARCOTICS PROBLEMS

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 14 Oct 86 p 6

[Article by [ar]: "At the Front of the Fight Against Drug Addiction"]

[Text] The Lezajsk doctors T. Karakula, E. Pustelniak, W. Schab amd T. Polanski recently organized a scientific conference on the theme of "Problems of drug addiction and medical dependence". Doctors from the Subcarpathian Division of the Polish Doctors Association and the Polish Association of Anaesthesiologists and Intensive Therapy took part in this conference which was attended by slightly less than 100 persons.

An interesting lecture was presented by Professor Doctor Tadeusz Leslaw Chrusciel of Warsaw, an international specialist on drug addiction who has spent many years with the World Health Organization in Switzerland.

The lecture was accompanied by charts and posters and showed the dangers preying on youth who first tke drugs "for fun" and then fall into an addiction that is exceeding difficult if not impossible to overcome. The lecture was attentively received by the youth of the secondary school in Lezajsk.

Specialized lectures for doctors were also given by Doctors Tomasz Kosiorowksi and Alicja Macheta of Krakow. The meeting was chaired by Docent Doctor Habilitatus Stanislaw Hady of Rzeszow.

The organization of this session is an idea worth taking up everywhere. Drug addiction has now made itself at home in Europe and its results have been tragic. In Poland, it has been estimated that about 30,000 young people have already become addicted and in 1984, 115 of them died from overdoses.

12261

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SOCIOLOGY POLAND

ANTI-DRUG MOVEMENT FOUNDER DEFENDS, EXPLAINS 'MONAR'

Warsaw KIERUNKI in Polish No 34, 24 Aug 86 p 6

[Interview with Marek Kotanski by Bogdan Mozdzynski: "To Tear Down the Walls of Impotence"]

[Text] [Question] You are constantly doing something. You devoted all of yesterday to drug addicts and are spending all of today with the Pure Hearts Movement which you founded and which is attracting more and more attention. How many hearts have you already reached?

[Answer] It was most important to get this movement started in the schools. The ideas of moral purity, openness, truth and giving of oneself to others have really been taken up by many youth and especially among the pupils of five Warsaw secondary schools and several others in Torun, Gdansk and Jelenia Gora. By the end of the school year, we began to get letters from young people all over Poland, all of which declared a desire to participate in the Pure Hearts Movement. We are therefore getting ready for a great battle in the schools at the start of September. But we are not only interested in school-aged youth. The movement should reach all young Poles because it is to their hearts that it is addressed.

And let me add that the movement should involve not only youth. In my opinion, this is a movement that spans the generations. Entire families, places of employment, "third shifts" and mining crews can join.

[Question] And are they?

[Answer] Yes they are. One family that wished to join did so because, as I was told, they wanted to take part in something real, morally pure and something they could share. The Pure Hearts Movement is a grass-roots and intuitive phenomenon and it is hard to guide or structure it. Good cannot be categorized nor can a moral code for the movement be established as that would only be a repetition of an already-existing dekalogue and of all of the truths propagated by various religions. Everyone must see for himself his own reasons for participating in this movement because everyone has their own idea of what giving of oneself means and that is exactly what the Pure Hearts Movement is all about.

I would like to see everyone join this movement, regardless of their outlook and beliefs. We can take Catholics, atheists, Protestants, Eastern Orthodox and even Buddhists. This movement is not, as some say, an attempt to restore morality in Poland but is a process by which its members learn for themselves what is moral.

[Question] I have heard it said that the goal of the Pure Hearts Movement is to create something of a "lay religion" to compete with the Catholic Church. In other words, this movement is supposed to have political goals even if that is not openly admitted...

[Answer] I am alarmed by such an interpretation of my efforts and those of my friends and I have never had such a purpose in mind. If that is what people are saying, it means that they are still not convinced of the honesty of my actions or of any other actions being taken in this country. People may suspect that they are being manipulated and ordered to oppose the Catholic Church and alienate its young people but that is just pure nonsense, most of all because I am cooperating with the church want it to continue doing so. My great dream is to meet Cardinal Glemp and then Pope John Paul II and I will try to do that.

The Pure Hearts Movement has not had and will not have any political tasks. If someone joins our movement, it is because they want to find the truth, learn to love their fellow man and obey the Ten Commandments.

I was raised to believe in Christian and Catholic morality. It is part of my personality and it would be hard to give up these ideals. It is also important to not just talk about these ideals but to also practice them everyday. I have always been annoyed at the discrepancy between how the church teaches people how to live and how people actually behave. I could never understand why these words could not be turned into deeds. Why do people leave a church just as bad as they were when they entered it? However, they always believe they will be better.

The Pure Hearts Movement is also based on the belief that people can be better and that is why it demands that its members do certain things. Young people help weaker persons, the handicapped, the elderly confined to their homes and orphans. In other words, we help those who are unable to help themselves in their day-to-day life. In this manner, they can convince themselves and others that evil can be overcome. To those who are still not part of the movement, we say: "Give your heart to others so that it may become more sensitive".

[Question] What you are now doing and saying must certainly be the result and, to simplify the matter, an exemplification of your experiences as a psychologist. It also seems that you are testing in practice your interest in behavioral psychology. During a Holy Mass held in July in the chapel of the Franciscan sisters on behalf of drug addicts and their families, the audience was told that "Much of what is being said and written about drug addiction is in psychological rather than religious categories". Do you really believe that you have a chance of accomplishing more than Father Kozlowski, the

founder of Catholic homes for drug addicts in Poland? In the end, does it all boil down to the same universal values?

[Answer] I never thought in terms of doing more than Father Kozlowski. I would like to be his friend and be just as closely involved with youth as he most certainly is. However, I am not a priest and cannot talk to drug addicts about faith or God. He is present in our therapy of drug-abusing youth and should also be part of the Pure Hearts Movement but I do not wish to impose my own beliefs on others. I think that it is up to youth to decide for themselves. I can, of course, talk about my own private feelings. Everyone knows that I am a Catholic but I do not go to church very often. The last time I went was for the confirmation of my daughter. I spoke then with several young priests. That was just before the Pure Hearts Concert and many of them came to that. We can therefore cooperate and work together to find the sensitivity and honesty of youth to help them overcome the inertia and emotional emptiness so widespread in Poland today.

We Poles are now suffering from a feeling of impotence or at least that is the way it seems to me. Five years of enormous transvaluations have made the older generation doubt whether we are in a position to raise ourselves back up and do anything better. Whether they want to nor not, older people are hurting youth with their doubt, distrust and impotence. Youth is now in a really dangerous position because it has no examples to follow. Many great and famous people who provided an authoritative example for young people have withdrawn themselves from public life. Youth have therefore begun to ask why they too should become involved? Passivity, indifference and even resistance is what youth have chosen. Their rejection of what is evil, false and unfounded is constructive but how long and how much can one build on rejection, opposition and negation? We need honesty, truth and respect for humanity to break this vicious circle in which we have become trapped. Too little is said about that in the mass media and especially on television.

[Question] That is just what you are trying to do, especially on television.

[Answer] Generally, these are attempts to talk to youth and show that this is possible. These talks do not have to be fruitless. I appear on these television programs as as representative of the older generation and the parents, in other words, someone normal and average who is neither overintellectual nor too much of a mentor, someone who can understand his own children.

[Question] Are you not afraid people will say that by forming the Pure Hearts Movement and advocating it so strongly, you just want to make people forget what has happened in Poland in recent years, to dispel what has become part of the awareness of youth and of their parents who are their greatest influence in life? In other words, that you are trying to make youth more active just for the sake of action itself?

[Answer] I would not want to make youth forget past events. After all, it is not possible to start a new epoch without working one's way through the present one. If one lesson has not been done and learned however painfully, the next one cannot be started. It is necessary to do everything to be able

to speak openly about the past. As a person who is not a politician, I can only speak from my own instincts and I therefore feel that there have been too few such discussions and that the past has been too much simplified.

[Question] I would still like to quote another opinion someone expressed about your activities. Some professional sceptic said that you are trying to "determine youth attitudes and channel them into a desired direction".

[Answer] That is another terrible blow which tells me that in doing something honest, you can still be judged as a dishonest person and there is not much you can do to defend yourself. I think that if a person wants to, they can attribute some dishonest intent or goal to anything. However, all of this talk does not produce anything constructive. The older generation is teaching youth to be suspicious. I want earnest discussion.

There will always be something to talk about. Young people are wondering if we are taking the right direction and whether everything done is being done honestly. Older people know that our day-to-day life includes many abuses, cliques, gangsters and people who do not want any changes, people that know that everything will still turn out "their way" and laugh and count their money. I am alarmed by the growing materialism and the way people look at others in terms of how much they stand to gain from them. That was once a joke but it has now become an attitude common to both rich and poor alike. You cannot accuse me of wrongdoing because in my own opinion, I am clean. Everything that I am doing for and with youth I do because I love them. I want our Poland to be built by pure people. And I think that these are the people who are going to do it.

[Question] I hope that the opinions I quoted will not demobilize you. After all, this is not the first time that you have been accused or criticized.

[Answer] Such opinions do bother me though. For example, when I organized the Pure Hearts Circle near the Palace of Culture and Learning, I heard that this was an just a general test before the July PZPR congress! People say many things about me. All of these rumors follow me around, that I have made a great career for myself, that I am rich and work hand-in-hand with the authorities. From what they say, I spend more time with government officials than with youth.

[Question] Those that suspect you of political motivations have based their views on the fact that your activities are basically pro-government or that the government does nothing to stop you.

[Answer] One can say that there is a great probability that if I wanted to meet with the government, I would be able to do so but I do not see any need to do so. I do have working meetings with the youth affairs minister, Andrzej Kwasniewski who is giving our movement financial support. This type of contact is enough for me.

[Question] Why do you think people say such things about you?

[Answer] Envy. Since I have come out of my shell and am doing something, people have to find a way to put me in my place or drag me down. I have already said many times that my fate will be cruel. The time is coming when I will be stoned. People will spit on me. I know this. I do so many things all over the place that someone will finally start disliking me and that has already begun to happen. For example, RZECZYWISTOSC wrote that I am a CIA agent or a West German spy. People can write all sorts of things about me and then some. It will go on and on until someone finally "sentences" me and I will be ruined, run into the ground or just pushed aside.

[Question] But all of that is just speculating about a future no one can really foresee.

[Answer] Of course, but nonetheless, such thoughts do come to me. And I am ready for whatever may happen. As Tadeusz Wozniak once sung, "I will then be bright and ready".

[Question] Let us take another look at the accusations against you. Some say that you are "grafting foreign roots into Polish soil".

[Answer] It has been written that this Pure Hearts Circle by the Palace of Culture in Warsaw was Ronald Reagan's idea. Meanwhile, something similar happened in West Germany. Sometimes I use good ideas from abroad and will continue to do so regardless of where they originate. I do not see anything wrong with that.

[Question] To what degree is the Pure Hearts Movement based on the experiences of the hippie movement?

[Answer] There are a few similarities but today it is hard to find anything outside of science and technology that is not related to something else. This is especially true of morality. What the movement advocates is an unconscious compilation of many of my experiences and thoughts about life and therefore from my experiences as a hippie, from my Catholic faith and my membership in the Polish Scouting Union. Therefore, if I am the animating spirit of a youth movement, all of that must come out in my actions and in the eclectic set of values found within me.

I was never able to think up new truths. I think an eclectic approach is better because it allows one to choose what one finds best from existing ideas. If people see in what I do the presence of other teachers, that is all

the better for me because that makes what I say more credible and makes me less susceptible to error. I am therefore not only following a beaten path but widening and extending it.

[Question] The Italian weekly L'ESPRESSO calls you the "Polish Muccioli" and says that your methods of working with youth and especially with drug addicts remind them of that Italian.

[Answer] Drug addiction is a problem throughout the world so it is unavoidable that some ideas about fighting and controlling it will be exchanged. One can say many things about my work but to be perfectly frank, I am not really familiar with what Muccioli has done. Someone recently compared me to Gandhi and that made me very proud but I think they were really referring to was a similar approach to people, one based on the principles of love towards one's neighbor, giving of yourself to others and learning to do good.

[Question] The Poles hold dear what John Paul II said on his latest visit to Poland: "Evil will be conquered by good".

[Answer] Those are very beautiful and wise words and I must say that young people know them and it is no surprise because such a need flows from the hearts of thousands of young people. I talk with them all over Poland and I am often surprised at their susceptibility to purity and their readiness to find hope. But sometimes I am also alarmed then at how easy it would be to misuse that willingness to do good. That is why I wish to sow flowers of good. I want for young people to feel goodness almost as a physical sensation and they do if they do good things for other people. And the faster they do that, the harder it will be to spoof them and the less they will reach for narcotics and die lost somewhere in an cruel and senseless manner.

[Question] Do you not think that the Pure Hearts Movement treats the illness more than it eliminates the causes?

[Answer] I do not think so. This is a movement aimed at cultivating moral attitudes and creating a healthy moral climate at home, in the schools and in youth organizations. If, for example, the source of drug abuse were dishonesty and insincerity in the family, it is quite probable that the child of parents who have joined our movement will not take drugs. They will be less nervous or prone to leave home. If school ceases to be so authoritative and frightening, then teachers and pupils will become better partners and if pupils quit competing against each other and start helping, such a school will serve its intended purpose.

I think that thousands of teachers in Poland also have the same need for purity. But they too are also crushed by a feeling of impotence and lack of faith in the sense of their work. There are too few energetic people in the school administrations who are ready to fight for changes in education. Many young teachers would like changes but someone always blocks them just like they did Kowalski's discovery. There has been created an entire series of obstacles that cannot be overcome. It is much the same in social actions where thousands of walls prevent the creation of something new bit there is a

need for radical changes. It is time to end the impotence of our Polish schools. We can no longer tolerate it because it will affect coming generations of Poles. We are now in a vicious circle: the ones who finally get to where they can do something about our problems have been mannered by the time they spent waiting just like their predecessors.

[Question] As opposed to other youth movements, the Pure Hearts Movement will not have any institutional form or central directorate. Am I right about that?

[Answer] Yes. God save us from administrations, directors and other such sadsacks! Some people are for these organizational forms. They say: "Marek, give the movement a method and describe it. Try to formulate for Monar a method like the Boy Scouts have". This time, nothing of the sort is necessary nor should it be in the Pure Hearts Movement because the youth will then reject it as something adults have thought up for them. The only sense lies in trial and error and getting involved in life. We are not afraid to let young people into the movement and for them to draw their own conclusions. Of course, sometimes they do make our hair stand on end but that happens because we do not understand youth behavior and because they do not always act the way we expect. Does that mean they are doing the wrong thing? And why are we adults so sure that we know better?

The Pure Hearts Movement will not be an institutionalized movement and all that we do will come straight from the hearts of our members.

[Question] Have you been thinking of forming a Pure Hearts Party? That might perhaps be the best party in Poland for adults and children.

[Answer] Such a party would certainly do a lot of good but my own great dream is a Pure Hearts Movement Cultural Center. In the beginning I was thinking about taking over the old gas works on Wolska Street but lately I've been thinking more about Krasinski Square which is where I would have the center built.

[Question] I recall that this square is where the monument to the Warsaw Uprising is to be built.

[Answer] The center would be on the other side of the square. It would be a building containing a center for experimental theater and the headquarters for the Pure Hearts University whose students would be teachers, educators and anyone who wants to drop his or her own egotism and learn to respect others. The center would also hold a non-top Monar movie theater at which audience discussions would be accompanied by various films including television programs. The center could also hold an institute for problems of social pathology associated with the Polish Academy of Sciences. The achievements and experiences of Monar could then be used for general scientific work. The center would be built by youth alone who would also be its managers. This great work of youth would be financed through money collected by youth. If every young person in Poland offered 20-30 zlotys for the construction of this center, that would be more than enough. Is this a Reaganite idea?

[Question] This would therefore be working from scratch.

[Answer] Everything I do, even the spectacular things like the Pure Hearts Circle, the Pure Hearts Concert and even the planned Chain of Pure Hearts from the Tatra Mountains to the Baltic is an attempt to bring people together, even if for just a single moment. We have forgotten how to show warmth for each other. In our day-to-day living, we have too little, we have too little of the peace that we should be giving one another. All of my attempts have been to make people feel closer to one another. Activities can no longer be so spectacular because people know that these are things that exist only for themselves or for their organizers. What we need now is organic work.

[Question] Do you think that today when it is so hard to build anything aside perhaps from villas and one-family houses, you will succeed in building this center for Polish youth?

[Answer] These are not just my fantasies. I have already talked with the chief architect of Warsaw. He favors the idea and I am now talking to others. Maybe we could turn the center into an international center and then receive help from the Olaf Palme Fund. Maybe the anti-drug movements and peace movements could come together to form something like a Youth United Nations. I think that many countries would be interested in such a center, our neighbors included. I have talked about means of controlling drug abuse in Hungary and Czechoslovakia and recently with IZVESTIYA correspondents.

But above all, I am most concerned about Polish youth who I want to help. I am increasingly alarmed at the rising rate of youthful suicides as well as the rise in drug abuse.

[Question] Have you considered why suicide and drug abuse among youth is rising?

[Answer] Young people often cannot see any way out of the impasse in their family situations and in their own emotions. They cannot find anyone to talk to. In young people, every mood swing is quite violent and if they find themselves in the company of unsympathetic adults, that can accelerate the choice of suicide. If there were in the Pure Hearts Movement and surrounded with a feeling of warmth and concern, maybe they would live. I think that the Pure Hearts Movement can be an antidote to suicide.

[Question] Will we still see more drug addicts in Poland?

[Answer] I do not think their number will increase. Drugs are no longer as fashionable as they were two years ago. This is in part due to Monar which has acted to demythify the image of the drug addict in Poland. More and more young people know that an addict is not trendy nor a member of a secret society but a person suffering and needing help. Therefore, an addict is certainly not an example to follow but a person that must have his feet put back on the ground and be taught to live. Monar does that and will continue. However, I would like for the movement to spread to become a fashion for purity. I would like to see it advocated by rock groups. In the West, more and more youth idols are musicians that call out for love of one's neighbor. At this time, many of our musicians play high and are just stoned out of their minds and everyone who comes to a concert can see that. Do these musicians know that their example is so bad? Would they want their own children to come to such a concert? Life should be a drug. Rock music stars should use "get high on life" as their slogan.

[Question] Maybe such a proposal would not be too acceptable for the spiritual goals you have placed before your movement but it might be worth discussing. Let a fashion for purity be accompanied by a fashion for purity of the body and personal hygiene. The statistics show that we are a country of the dirtiest people in Europe and that we use less soap than any other nation on our continent.

[Answer] The dirtiness in Poland is frightful but a mode on cleanliness in its literal sense could just wash away our movement because youth would then say that here is just another daddy telling us to wash our feet while he himself does not bathe too often. In my opinion, the Pure Hearts Movement is one of personal culture, self-education and self-discipline. That is why I feel that its participants are in a position to change the bad opinion about Poland.

The Pure Hearts Movement is perhaps a last chance, an attempt to defend ourselves against the powerful attack of materialism and egotism of recent years. Someone recently asked me if the movement has helped ease the housing shortage in Poland. I do not know but it may have given young people enough energy to produce such a result. After all, other than youth, there is no one else who is going to have to build these new houses.

[Question] Then you have a lot to worry about: housing construction, improved supplies to shops, regular train schedules and the poisoning of our lakes and rivers.

[Answer] I have still another worry. I cannot hold this movement together by myself. If I do not have thousands of animators, people who are at least in their early 20's who can help me spread these groups, this movement will never become a front. A front does not have to be unified but it must keep moving forward. Anyone can be a commander and that would produce a national chain of good will. I would also like to see a rank and file during the moral crisis.

A wave of good must be harnessed to break through the walls of impotence. I believe that this will happen because everyone tells me that this is what they want.

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SOCIOLOGY

#### PARENT SUPPORT GROUP FOR ADDICTS FORMALIZED

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 22 Sep 86 p 2

[Text] During the 1970's, drug abuse in Poland rose by 300 percent! There were 120,000 addicts and 300,000 people just beginning to take drugs. Just last year, there were 109 deaths caused by drug overdoses. The statistics on drug abuse are not very precise because the problem itself it still not very well understood.

However, dry figures cannot give one a real image of the scale of problems suffered by the families and communities of addicts. Out of the need to share their problems and help each other, parents of addicts formed a public parent's movement a year ago. This initiative was supported by SZTANDAR MLODYCH and Program III of Polish Radio. A network of clinics and drug intervention teams known as the "poppy ambulances" were formed in Warsaw and several other cities. The movement's activities include duty hours in clinics, placing patients in treatment centers, finding work for former addicts, providing therapeutic advice to parents and even organizing vacation trips for children with drug problems. Two months ago, the movement was formally registered as an organization under the name of the "Return From A" Society of the Parents and Friends of Addicted Children.

On the 20th of this month in Warsaw, there was a founding conference of society members. The congress began with the reading of a report by the internationally-known expert Docent Czeslaw Cekiera of KUL who spoke about means of preventing and overcoming addiction.

In a discussion between parents and specialists representing departments involved with the problems of children, health and justice, it was concluded that, aside from treatment and detoxification of addicts, enormously important problems are reduction of the number of addicts, making it possible for them to more quickly resume normal lives and preventive measures. Many different ways of reaching these goals were indicated. In the opinion of the congress participants, it is not only Monar and the health services that should have a monopoly on the treatment of drug addicts. This serious social problem should

become better understood by a larger portion of society. It was also pointed out that many schools close their eyes to this problem among their students.

The congress adopted its basic directions for action. This will include work with parents, prevention of addiction, the preparation of training materials and information, work within potentially endangered communities and providing extensive help to families with children recovering from drug addiction. Members will also continue duty hours with the poppy ambulances and studies about drug addiction will be conducted. These directions will also involve much cooperation with the government and social organizations.

The congress elected association officials. Henryk Bieniowski of Warsaw was elected the chairman of the Association of the Families and Friends of Addicted Children.

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SOCIOLOGY POLAND

KISZCZAK MEETS WITH AGRICULTURE, CHEMICAL MINISTRIES ON DRUG, ALCOHOL ISSUES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Oct 86 p 5

[Text] General of Arms Czeslaw Kiszczak, Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers Committee on Preservation of Law, Public Order and Social Discipline, met with Minister of Agriculture and Food Industries Stanislaw Zieba and Minister of Chemical and Light Industries Edward Grzywa.

They discussed the implementation by both industries of tasks set by the government's "Program for Preventing and Conquering Social Pathology and Crime in 1986-1990" and a schedule for fulfillment of these tasks.

It was stated that both ministries had already begun work to implement projects planned in department programs and some of this work is already well advanced.

In accordance with the 12 May 1986 decision by the Council of Ministers, specific tasks in the struggle against alcoholism have been undertaken and these include the production of a broadened assortment of alcoholic beverages of lower alcohol content and increased production of alcohol in containers of less than one-half liter capacity. It has been planned that in 1986, the supply of alcoholic beverages to the consumer market will be about 15 percent less than in 1980.

A plan to improve the cultivation of poppies in Poland is being effectively carried out and the goal of that plan is to limit the use of poppy straw for the production of narcotic substances and eventually make it impossible. In particular, the plan calls for:

- -- Successive reduction of the poppy harvest from 5250 hectares of 1986 to 4200 hectares in 1987 and to 3500-4000 hectares in 1990 while the number of provinces authorized to cultivate poppies is reduced (from 34 in 1985 and 12 in 1986 to 7-8 in 1990);
- -- Limitation of poppy cultivation by private farmers to an area of 20 square meters and the passing by provincial governments of a resolution banning poppy cultivation in all or part of the given province. So far, such resolutions have been passed by the provincial people's councils in Gdansk, Olsztyn and Legnica;

- -- An increase in measures taken by regional governments and organs responsible for supervising poppy cultivation to prevent poppy straws from being misused by addicts;
- -- A stronger propaganda and information campaign among agricultural producers and rural youth about the effects of drug addiction and the need to eliminate the illegal sale of poppy straws;
- -- Further improvement of the poppy industry's system of controlling technological processes in order to eliminate any possibility of using poppy straw, by-products or finished products from being misused by unauthorized persons.

It was agreed that during the next meeting, there would be discussed the problems involved in realizing measures aimed at improving environmental protection in regions in which both ministries are active.

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BAN ON POPPY GROWIH RIGOROUSLY DEFENDED

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOINICZA in Polish 24 Oct 86 p 4

[Article by Hanna Smolanska: "Curiosity Is the First Step to Hell"]

[Excerpts] The first time I dealt with this topic was nearly 9 years ago and I no longer remember the recipe for "compote" that the local prosecutor so reluctantly gave me. Together we read a letter, a manifest addressed to him by a young addict. "What do you know about life and how it tastes?" asked this 19-year old snot-nosed kid with one foot in the grave.

A boy was responsible for the break-in of a drugstore and there were quite of few of them. The break-ins multiplied and that was the start of the career of the "compote" of Polish heroin which at that time was no stronger than 30 percent heroin. The first drug-elated deaths were in Katowice Province. A triumphal procession of death and misfortune began.

Today, the number of narcotics addicts is estimated at 200,000-300,000 and the number of people who have had passing contact with drugs at one million. It is no longer said that this is only a problem of wild and banal youth. The problem has become quite democratic in its choice of victims and now includes the children of the white-collar class, of workers and even rural children who see the poppy harvests and want to catch up with their urban counterparts.

Psychologists, sociologists, doctors and educators have already written volumes about the causes of this problem. It is uncommonly hard to get a sensible answer. When addicts are running amok in the capitalist countries, it is said that this is a rebellion against the almighty dollar and materialism but when the same thing happens in Poland, people say it is due to a lack of prospects in life, any way to test one's abilities, realize life's plans or because of inner problems. Is that all it is?

Why Do They Take Drugs?

They are escaping from a dreary and pedestrian reality with the determination of people striking out for a new and rich country in which everything is possible. They take them out of curiosity and just as easily as we, their parents, once reached for our first cigarette or our first bottle of wine at a grade-school party.

They take these drugs without fear because they think they can do this just once, not knowing that according to specialists, the habit forms 470 times faster than alcoholism. They take them because they are young and illness and death are nothing more than abstractions for them.

Marek Kotanski who is fighting to save these children evaluated them very frankly in a press interview: "Drug addicts are very similar to each other in the way in which they solve their problems: they would walk over dead bodies to get to their next goal which is their next fix and until they get it, no one and nothing else matters. They commit break-ins, steal and beat people".

Drug addicts are psychopaths with a self-destructive instinct. They think they are sensitive but are not as they can really be cruel. They think they are intelligent but nothing interests them except getting high. They say they are humanists and have a high sense of morality. The morality of drug addicts is so weakened that once they go to prison, they do not at all resist the cruel laws of prison life and immediately accept them as their own and feel that they are correct and logical".

Drugs are claiming increasingly younger children. Once it was a sensation when a fifth-grader took drugs but we now see 8-year old children intoxicated on glue and solvents going to hospitals. More and more young people barely out of their childhood are dying.

To Cultivate Poppies Or Not to Cultivate?

Our press has been discussing the subject of poppies. The opponents are those who have have their own painful experiences with addiction and those with a bit of imagination and they have been trying unsuccessfully to convince the lovers of holiday poppy—seed cakes. For the time being, the cake eaters have the upper hand on this problem. They feel that poppy cultivation is no problem at all, drug addiction lies on the fringes of society and that the mass media have blown it all out of proportion. A woman who felt this way sent a harsh letter to a women's magazine. She was enraged that because of some degenerates and derelicts, she, a mother who has properly raised her children, has had to give up one of the delights of Polish cuisine. Reading her letter, I thought to myself that such a woman, with her mentality and faith in her own methods of parenting and her attitude toward youth and her own children, would be an ideal candidate for the mother of a drug addict.

The people who oppose a total ban on poppies have only one strong argument and that is that if poppies are banned, the addicts will just find some other drug. The experts know that addicts have reached a new high in thinking up ever-newer means of getting high. We seem to be the one country in the world in which the manufacture of narcotics is a cottage industry. In the 1970's, when it became hard to get pure morphine from drugstores, addicts in Poland began to make their own drugs from even the simplest and most innocent medicines. Once Tri was no longer available, they reached for other detergents. Later they figured out a method of making narcotics from dry poppy stubble and now this "Polish heroin" or "compote" has made a world career for itself and has found its way into Austria, Scandinavia and

neighboring countries. We also have Polish marijuana which is grown even in gardens and flowerpots and sometimes watered by parents who are glad that their children like gardening. Polish marijuana is made from Polish cannabis and it is already well-known that the original Indian stock has managed to acclimatize itself to our climate. Recently, LSD and mescaline were synthesized and in the case of the latter, the young winner of a chemistry prize died from this discovery. He had taken an overdose.

## According to Mafia Rules

And these are the arguments offered by those who oppose a ban on poppies. Fortunately, it is very easy to counter them. We cannot think about those who already take drugs but rather about those who have still not touched them. We must stop this procession of death and our only real chance of doing so is to ban the cultivation of poppies. Without compote, "Needle Park" would be put out of operation. Those who already take it would continue because they have no other choice. However, they would not share their drugs with anyone else nor would it be so easy for someone to take drugs out of curiosity. The number of addicts would begin to shrink. There would be no new victims or fresh tragedies.

The entire world is waging a struggle against narcotics. An enormous amount of money is being put into new services, equipment, hospitals and clinics. Secretly planted crops are destroyed from the air and in places like Iran, addicts are being put up against a wall. Richer countries than Poland are waging this struggle. With our problems, our meager health service, our shortage of hospital beds, poor institutions for resocialization and imperfect educational system, are we to stand on the sidelines? Can we allow ourselves to do nothing? Are we indifferent about the fate of our children?

P.S. The Provincial People's Council in Katowice intends to issue a complete ban on the cultivation of poppies in that province. At the present time, this measure is under consultation.

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## SOCIOLOGIST SURVEYS STUDENTS' RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES

Warsaw ITD in Polish No 41, 12 Oct 86 pp 14-15

[Article by Dr Edmund Lewandowski, Professor Sociology at Institute of Sociology, University of Lodz]

[Text] In the 1970s and 1980s one could see a systematic increase in religious feeling among students. In successive surveys, to the question, "Do you believe in the existence of a God who observes and evaluates your conduct and will someday reward or punish it?" (known as the belief in a personal God), affirmative answers were 43 percent in 1973, 54 percent in 1980, 66 percent in 1982 and almost 80 percent in January of 1986. At the same time the percentage of people declaring themselves as non-believers fell from 57 to 14 percent.

In discussing student religious feeling, one cannot forget that atheists number just 7 percent in our society, while 10 percent are undecided on matters of faith. The rest see themselves as believers and 95 percent of these identify with the Roman Catholic Church.

Poles today are the most religious nation in Europe and Polish religious feeling has become even stronger in recent years. In the percentage of believers, the number of priest per 1,000 of population, the number of newly constructed church buildings, we surpassed such traditional pillars of Catholicism as Italy and Spain. Events such as the election of Karol Wojtyla as pope (October 1978), two visits to Poland by Pope John Paul II (1979 and 1983), the activity of Solidarity, the return of irrationalism and the crisis of scientific philosophies expressed in the popularity of paramedicine, dowsing, occultism and Oriental mysticism, have affected the growth of religious feeling in Poland.

In student circles the distribution of believers and non-believers is very distinct. There are many more of the former in the humanities than in science and technology. Also many more believers are enrolled from among women than men. For example, research at Lodz University showed that 83 percent of the women were believers or profound believers, while there were 20 percent fewer men in this group. Similarly 17 percent of the women and 27 percent of the men were non-believers or were undecided on matters of faith.

Admittedly most of the survey results presented involve Lodz University students; however, by comparing them with surveys conducted in other Polish schools (i.e., Gdansk Polytechnic in 1985), one can draw generalized conclusions without making an inordinate error. In addition, student religious feeling basically does not differ from the religious feeling of society as a whole. But it does have many features peculiar to our specific, Polish notion of faith. What, then, does student religious feeling look like?

It is religious feeling that is principally selective, not integral. This means that the majority of believers do not accept the whole of Catholic dogmatics or all forms of worship and ethical principles. This is not a phenomenon that occurs only our country. It can also be encountered, and to a greater degree, in Western European countries.

In research conducted at Lodz University, to the question, "What is your position on religion as represented by the Roman Catholic Church?" only 18 percent of those surveyed answered, "I believe in everything promulgated by the church." Yet every fifth respondent answered, "I believe only in some religious dogmas."

Attitude of Lodz University students toward the religion of the Roman Catholic Church (in percentages):

Response Categories	Total	Men	Women
I believe in everything	18	16	19
I accept the majority of church teachings	46	35	50
I believe only in some dogmas	21	22	20
I am neutral about beliefs	6	11	5.
I do not believe in any dogmas	<b>3</b>	6	2
Hard to say	6	10	4

Acknowledgment of Jesus' divinity has major significance for Catholics. It appears that every fifth man and every tenth woman does not believe in the Redeemer's divinity. It is also interesting that nearly four-fifths of students believe in the existence of an immortal soul.

Belief in a God who rewards and punishes, in the duality of Jesus Christ's nature and in the dualistic concept of man does not always go hand in hand with acceptance of Catholic eschatology. Every third man and every fourth woman does not believe in life after death in heaven, purgatory or hell. Inconsistency of this kind is well known in the sociology of religion. Catholic sociologist Rev Wladyslaw Piwowarski says, "The legitimacy of the church and tradition is not enough for people today. They seek their own legitimacy, their own arguments, their own motives for professing a religion. If they do not find them, they reject certain things; they doubt. What is interesting? Today there are more and more people who believe in God and in the Holy Trinity who do not believe at all in life after death and the resurrection of the body."

Considering that the student community is to make up the intellectual elite of the country and society in the future, it is disturbing that more than 60 percent of students believe in miracles, e.g., supernatural phenomena. More than half of the women believe that the Mother of God occasionally appears to certain people.

Compared to data from research conducted in Western European countries the results given above are frankly phenomenal. Surveys carried out in 1981 in nine countries (Italy, France, Spain, FRG, Belgium, Netherlands, Denmark, Great Britain and Eire) and in Northern Ireland, treated separately because of its specific nature, showed that while 75 percent of Europeans believe in God, only 24 percent believe in a personal God (80 percent in Poland, as I indicated earlier). In addition, in contrast to our country, the number of believers in those countries is falling constantly.

Student religous feeling is mainly emotional and based on custom and only to a low degree is it intellectual or cognitive. The overwhelming majority of students are not in the habit of reading and see no need to read the Holy Scriptures. Due to this they do not understand the essence of Jesus Christ's religious and moral doctrine and generally do not acknowledge even basic dogmas or myths. It is mainly abstract, stereotypical notions, which do not form a whole adequate to an official Catholic philosophy, that operate in the student religious consciousness.

Student religious feeling is very superficial and scant intellectually. Not befitting the philosophical achivements of 2,000 years of the church. The people who profess belief or non-belief can rarely explain in depth what they believe or do not believe in. On this subject they have amazingly meager knowledge and little reflection, even though the cycle of religious studies in the churches and social studies in the schools is extensive. This lack of an intellectual basis for a religious philosophy is equally characteristic of believers and non-believers alike.

It is not enough to call attention to the selectivity of their understanding of religion. It is also necessary to add that it is a non-cognitiv selectivity, one that does not follow from a conscious choice. One might say that it follows from intuition and tradition. The aforementioned Wladyslaw Piwowarski estimats that two-thirds of Polish Catholics are "unwitting heretics." However, one should be able to expect much more critical judgment from students, especially those in university humanities courses.

Naturally, the picture of student religious feeling would be incomplete if it were not noted that a certain group of people with more intense religious feeling exists in the academic community. Yet it is not very large and does not exceed 10 percent of students in general. These people attempt to become thoroughly familiar with the doctrinal bases of Christianity and the history of the church. They often work in organizations affiliated with the church, i.e., "Light-Life" or the [OAZ] movement.

Student religious feeling is mainly institutional (church and collective), not individual. From social research it is evident that 58 percent of students pray often or very often. The spiritual life of most students comes down to participation in church services. Only 12 percent of students do not participate at all in the celebration of the mass.

Participation in the mass by Lodz University students (in percentages):

Response Categories		Total	Men	Women
erform the			er er	
I attend every Sunday		: . 37	30	39
I attend irregularly		31	23	34
I attend very rarely		20	30	17
I do not attend at all		12	17	10

Research shows the emergence in recent years of a new, though very small group that is a phenomenon peculiar to Polish religious matters. These are practicing non-believers. These one or two percent do not accept all or most of the dogmas of the Catholic faith; they define themselves as "non-believers," yet they take part in most of the rituals performed in the churches. One can discover the reasons for the existence of this situation in three bases. First, in the pecular "fashion" of external exhibition of faith. If an entire departmental group attends church, these people see this state of affairs as appropriate and normal. And they conform to this standard.

Second, intolerance toward non-believers in Catholic circles is growing, recently ever more openly. This concerns mainly villages and small towns and mainly younger youth. But this intolerant activity by believers toward non-believers is slowly penetrating major academic centers and student groups.

The third reason for the emergence of this phenomenon is a lack of acceptance of the structual values of our state and a desire to this aversion in a "subtle" way. "I am a non-believer but I associate with the church as a power doctrinally different from the one prevailing in Poland."

Student religious feeling is morally ineffective. In the acaademic community one can very often note the lack of a connection between belief in dogmas and participation in worship and conduct in everyday life. This traait aapplies to the whole of Polish Catholicism. In the opinion of Franciszek Adamski, Polish religious feeling is characterized by "chaos of opinion, a lack of rational justificatin for accepted attitudes and aa lack of religius motivation for morally good acts."

Priests and bishops, despite sociological facts, very often look for the sources of moral evil in atheism. Such assertions have often appeared and still appear during church sermons and in documents published in church channels. For instance, in a 1973 pastoral from the episcopate it was stressed, "A human being without faith and—God forbid—a nation without faith, is capable of any sin, weakness and even ignominy because he does not acknowledge any moral bonds, and no higher purpose or idea guides him." The student youth studied did not concur with opinions of this kind. One could say without fear of erring that the overwhelming majority of young people disagee with this opinion.

To the question, "Do you share the opinion that people who do not believe in God are usually immoral and evil?" students responded, "agree strongly," 0 percent; "agree somewhat," 2 percent; "disagree somewhat," 22 percent; "disagree strongly," 75 percent; "do not know," 1 percent. It is apparent from

this that 97 percent of those surveyed do not feel that non-believers by definition are morally less worthwhile than believers.

Let the fulfillment of church teachings observed by everyone speak to the divergence between declaared religious feeling and those teachings. If only the Ten Commandments, half of which are regularly broken. And this by believers and non-believers alike.

The principle of church-state separation is fixed in the student consciousness. Students are advocates of the secularity of the Polish state. Most students want to see the church as a religious institution, not a political one. Only 9 percent of those surveyed want the Roman Catholic Church to play a leading role as the rpresentative of the majority of the people in Poland. On the other hand, every fourth person is moderately and every second person is strongly of the opposite opinion. In total, three-fourths of those surveyed do not want the church to take the place of the PZPR in Poland.

Most students also do not want priests and bishops to take up political issues in their sermons. But on this point there are major differences between men and women. Among men there are exactly as many advocates as opponents of including political topics in sermons (47 percent). Among women, however, 74 precnt oppose political topics in sermons, while only 23 preent favor them (table 3).

Lodz University students on sermons of a political nature (in percentages)

Response Categories	Total	Men	Women
Strongly in favor	12	27	6
Somewhat in favor	18	20	17
Somewhat against	34	27	37
Strongly against	32	20	37
No opinion	4	6	3

In a survey conducted at the beginning of 1985, two of the questions asked of Lodz University students were, "Do you feel that crucifixes should be hung in school classrooms?" and "Do you feel that religious education by priests or nuns should be reinstated in the schools?" On the first question, 36 percent of the students surveyed responded affirmatively, while 48 percent were opposed. Similarly, on the second question, 23 percent of those surveyed wre in favor and 72 percent opposed. As one can see from this, students take the more secular position on church-state matters that have been controversial recently.

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SOCIOLOGIST VIEWS SURVEY RESULTS, VILLAGE WOMEN'S ROLE

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 5 Nov 86 p 3

[Interview with Barbara Trygan, professor at the Polish Academy of Sciences, by Joanna Horodecka]

[Text] [Question] As often as one hears about social changes occurring in the villages, the village family and especially the circumstances of village women and the elderly, your name comes up as an expert and authority in these fields. For many years you have also taken part in international comparative studies, one of whose subjects was, as far as I know, of your authorship.

[Answer] In fact, during the World Congress on Village Sociology, which took place in 1976 in Torun, I proposed a study of hether and to what extent industrialization affects the circumstances of the village women, her social position and the level of her work load in the household. Austria, France, West Germany, Sweden, Hungary and Poland undertook the subject. In each of those six countries several communities with varying levels of employment outside of farming were selected; this index, which was a basic criterion for selection, varied from 5 to 95 percent. Included in the study were married women associated with farming and in Poland also women not associated with farming but living in the villages. The study, which lasted until 1982, yielded fruit in the form of a publication entitled "Village Women of Europe in the Process of Social Change," published in full in German. Each country published only its own report.

[Question] What does the essence of these results boil down to?

[Answer] Most generally speaking it is not the head of the household's work outside of farming nor such objective factors as agrarian structure, type of soil or climate, but rather subjective factors that determine the village woman's workload. First the educational level, farming knowledge, knowing how to take advantage of guidane. Second, the organization of work in the household and on the farm, particularly important in Poland, where a women has to change her field of work several times a day. Third, the consciousness level of women—their tis to village organizations, their openness to progress and receptivity to change.

The reception for interviews during the study was a bit different in eaach country, and sometimes startling. The survey form included questions on sexual matters, contraception and family planning. It is well known that in Sweden these things are not taboo. Yet it was not Polish women but Swedish women who protested these questions.

## [Question] Why?

[Answer] Because it is a private matter, because it is one thing to know and make use of that knowledge and something else to talk about it with a interviewer.

To each country its own customs. In France, for example, numerous attempts are being made to liberate village women from excessive duties, especially from farm work. Serving this end are small neighbor and family partnerships, composed of neighbors or a father and son or brothers. The members of the partnership do certain jobs together, which permits division of work, better work organization and more free time. This frees women tremendously from production work. It would seem then that they should by happy with this. But in visiting a number of farms during the study, we discovered something totally opposite—the ones who had been relieved felt wronged, discriminated against and unappreciated. They did not want liberation from their professional work on the farm. They demanded professional status and the so-called green card, which is something like a farmer's identity card.

[Question] Do not say that too loudly because now no one will do anything to lighten the load of Polish vilage women by even a hair. We had better go on to the next study.

[Answer] In 1983 and 1984 research on "The Farm Family in Europe" was conducted under the auspices of the European Center for Coordination of Social Research. The center invited representatives of eight countries to participate—West Germany, Yugoslavia, Denmark, Norway, Great Britain, Portugal, Turkey and Poland. The third study, begun recently, deals with "The Socioeconomic Situation of the Elderly in the Villages." So far Yugoslavia, Poland, Hungary, West Germany, France, Finland and the Netherlands have applied to participate.

[Question] What similarities unite countries so different, with such different levels of development?

[Answer] Trends are similar everywhere. But the stages of achievement of certain changes, their speed and intensity, conditioned on a number of historical, political and cultural factors, are very different. In all of the countries mentioned, for example, a certain percentage of people work in agriculture. But in Turkey more than half of the population still makes its living from work in farming, in Poland more than 20 percent, in Scandinavia about 5 percent and in Great Britain barely 2 percent. In countries with highly developed industry, due to mechanization of agriculture, it absorbs excess manpower from the villages. Here we feel the outflow of manpower so keenly because it is not accompanied by modernization and progress in supplying technology to the farms, which should replace manpower there.

Young people everywhere are leaving the villages. Mostly men in the first stage of industrialization. Then mainly young women in the second state. Except that already 20 years ago in Sweden there were not enough marriageable women, while here difficulties with finding candidates for farmers' wives began only in the last few years.

We, on the other hand, have a Polish phenomenon—about half a million women running farms independently. Two years ago I analyzed the reasons for this situaton. Widows first of all, then wives of worker—peasants, divorced women and single women are running farms on their own. The two latter categories are completely new. In Poland divorces in the villages formerly occurred very rarely and farms were never transferred to single women. Custom dictated transferring them only to the sons, the heirs.

[Question] Since the idea of worker-peasants has come up, is the double career situation a factor distinguishing our country from others?

[Answer] No, although in other countries it has a narrower range. Nevertheless in central Europe various ways of earning a living besides farming have spread. Not just men but women too are finding work in expanded services, crafts and tourism. Among other things, they rent rooms and provide meals for vacationers. Here, unfortunately, even vacations under the pear tree have been falling, not to mention the state of services and crafts.

[Question] Recently one hears more often about young people who go back to the villages after finishing their education, since they see better chances for achieving independence, independent work and life according to their own model there.

[Answer] In affluent suburban areas, children really are going back after school, not just agricultural school, to take over their parents' farms. But these are more instances than a phenomenon, because the way back is often cut off by the poorer social and communal infrastructure of the villages. To this day, one of the major problems in our villages is running water, as opposed to water drawn from the well or, even worse, shipped from another town. I could count on the fingers of one hand the number of graduates of the Central School of Farming's food service and village household management departments who went back to the villages during the several years of my work. Most look for work in the cities. The tendency to flee to bigger cities, to contact with people, occurs in all the countries known to me.

[Question] The flow of young people from the villages changes the demographic situation for the worse?

[Answer] Not just that. It also affects the process of family disintegration and deterioration of inter-generational ties, leading to the isolation of the elderly as a result. One can see from preliminary research on their situation that economic problems are not at all uppermost. Even in our country. It is not even low pensions, although people naturally are demanding they be increased, not the meager social infrastructure, not the dismal housing conditions of the elderly, but the feeling of loneliness, isolation and lack of a common language with the younger generation that is most troubling.

I just returned from Finland. A rich country, so even though the percentage of people 65 and over is much higher than in Poland, everyone has an adequate pension and there is no shortage of places in very well-equipped nursing homes. But the feeling of loneliness is even more acute than elsewhere because of the enormous dispersal of the elderly over distances. Areas more or less equal to the area of Poland are inhabitated by barely 5 million people. The elderly either live alone in the villages or in nursing homes far away from their children.

I was driven to one of these homes by an engineer who has a large-250 square meter-beautiful home in the city and, like most Finns, a second summer home, and who had placed his 75-year-old mother in that nursing home. On the surface the mother has everything-a nice private room, her own beautiful furniture, good food, she said, a pension; she is well dressed, cared for and attended to. except that she is abandoned by those closest to her, pushed aside like a piece of furniture by them and left on her own.

In Finland this is a common situation, confirming the thesis that the higher a society's material level, the more interpersonal relations are objectivized. Fortunately, we are still a long way from such objectivization in our not so rich country. Which does not mean, of course, that there are no conflicts or lonely old people here.

[Question] Generally speaking, are we good or bad compared to others?

[Answer] That depends on the situation. As regards our material situation, the social and communal infrastructure mentioned a moment ago, or the technological outfitting of farms and households, naturally we are still far behind the countries of Scandinavia and Central Europe, who had what we are just beginning to have several years ago. But we are catching up in education, where we have made colossal strides to eliminate the barriers denying women access to education. Women in Poland, especially in the villages, have longer period of schooling behind them than men and intermediate general education has been totally feminized.

[Question] Where do the deepest differences amaong the coutries studied appear?

[Answer] In the birth rate. In all Western countries it has a very clear declining tendency. In West Germany it has reached a negative balance, likewise in Finland. Yet in Poland it stays at a high level. Also, large families, in the sense of family structure, are found only in Poland and Turkey.

In Poland, large families strongly aggravate family material circumstances by decreasing per capita income. In contrast, in Scandinavia, the one-child family and the difficulties with an individual's socialization stemming from the lack of peers in the family and immediate environment are becoming a more frequent problem. Who knows which is better. From the standpoint of care for elderly parents, it is the large family, because it allows the obligations for care to be distributed among more people.

The need to take advantage of care is compelling more parents to move to the city in their old age. This is not always a good solution. Brunon Synak says in his research that older parents often have a greater feeling of isolation within a family than when they lived alone in the village. Their city children are so different that they do no understand their parents, who speak, think and dress differently and not fit into the urban environment.

The movement of the elderly from the village to the city is a typically Polish phenomenon. In France, for example, one can see the opposite tendency-retirees go back to the village, where many of them have a second home, to their former environment and contact with nature and the scenery of their childhood years.

As to the question of how we look compared to others, often it would be most appropriate to answer, different.

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## BRIEFS

PSYCHIATRY FOCUS ON ADDICTION—Poland has 35,000 registered drug addicts. Not everyone needing specialized medical treatment takes advantage of it and the available therapy is only enough to cover half the need. A similar situation is found with clinics for the treatment of alcoholics. Most of them are found in larger cities while in the smaller towns, alcoholics must go without treatment. All of the problems of social pathology were discussed at the 35th Scientific Congress of Polish Psychiatrists which was held in Warsaw on 26-28 September which was the best opportunity to present the newest procedures in psychiatry as well as problems of alcoholism and drug addiction. One important feature of this congress was that its participants included not only psychiatrists but also teachers, psychologists, sociologists and lawyers, in other words, everyone to whom social pathology is an important issue. [Text] [Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 29 Sep 86 p 21 12261

ACADEMICIAN ON PEASANT CLASS STRUCTURE—The reason for the weakness of the peasant class is their internal income differential. Two hundred some thousand farms have very high incomes. But alongside them exist at least half a million peasant families whose incomes are very low. They are without prospects for progress, for achieving the level they see at their rich neighbor's farm. they try to imitate him, to achieve success, but to no avail, because they do not have appropriate circumstances—they have too little land, money, machines and knowledge. their only trump card is their labor, but labor that is of necessity not very efficient. This is undoubtedly a reason for frustration and discord among peasant class groups. This discord shows itself in the internal life of the village as well as in external appearances, and in the attitude toward the program of agricultural policy, which cannot be equally good for all peasant income groups. This situation causes the peasant class to be a non-uniform class; on certain matters it appears in harmony, while on others, there is not and cannot be any harmony. This is the reason for the impotence of peasants as a social class. [Text] [Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 47, 22 Nov 86 p 2] 12776

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